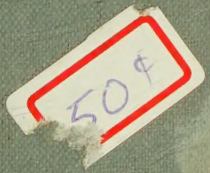
MEDIÆVAL CHURCH HISTORY



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A SKETCH OF
MEDIÆVAL CHURCH HISTORY

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MEDIÆVAL CHURCH HISTORY

BY THE
VENERABLE S. CHEETHAM, D.D.
ARCHDEACON OF ROCHESTER

PRESENTED BY THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE. NOT TO BE GIVEN AWAY.

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A SKETCH OF

MEDIÆVAL CHURCH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE INVASION OF THE TEUTONIC TRIBES AND THE RISE OF CHRISTIAN STATES

Christianity made its first conquests in the midst of the already highly-developed civilization of the Græco-Roman world. The institutions of the empire it filled with a new spirit rather than materially changed. Perhaps the prominence given to the thought of the world to come, and the vehemence with which theological questions were debated, tended to weaken the old patriotism, and so to diminish the power of the empire. But Christianity was destined to further the formation of a new world from new materials; to be the principal agent in the civilizing of the rude, but vigorous and impressible, tribes which, from the end of the fourth century, forced their way westward, and in the course of less than a hundred years traversed and conquered Western Europe. It was the task mainly of the Church to introduce order and humanity into the weltering

chaos from which the nations of modern Europe were to spring. The birth-throes of the mediæval kingdoms were long and painful, such as probably the world had not before witnessed nor has since beheld. From the beginning of the fifth to the end of the eighth century a revolution was proceeding on a vast scale and with great results. For more than three centuries, human society, with its institutions and bonds, seemed almost overwhelmed beneath a sea of violence and wrong. Those who had lived in happier times felt acutely the wretchedness and despair which they were called upon to endure. All the foundations of the earth were out of course. But if the great catastrophe was the end of the old system, it was the beginning of the new. Modern Europe arose from the ruins of nations formed under the civilization of Greece and Rome, and from the fresh and receptive Teutonic races, modified by contact with the Roman Empire; while over the organizing of the new world presided the Church, which never wholly lost its unity in the midst of political conflict and division.

The tribes which overthrew the Roman Empire were not long in adopting the religion of the conquered. Before they passed the Roman frontier, the West Goths, then dwelling between the Black Sea and the Danube, had received Christianity, about the year 350, mainly from Ulfilas, and to this they clung in their invasion of Gaul and Spain, where they made it the state religion. From them it spread to the East Goths, who became for a time the rulers of Italy (490—552); to the Vandals, who founded kingdoms first in Spain (409—429), and then in Africa (427—534); somewhat later to their neighbours in Spain, the Suevi. The Burgundians became Christianized on their invasion of Gaul (413), and the Lombards were already Christian when they invaded

Italy (568). But all these had been converted under the influence of Arian teachers. In Africa the savage Vandals were cruel persecutors of the orthodox; elsewhere the Catholics were tolerated by their Arian lords.

For a time it seemed as if Arianism was destined to become dominant in Europe, but this prospect was changed when, in the year 496, Chlodwig (whom we commonly call Clovis), king of the powerful nation of the Franks, after the great battle of Zülpich, in which he conquered the Allemanni, received Catholic Christianity, and was followed not only by his own Franks, but by the conquered Allemanni. Thus the Franks and their allies were in harmony, as to their religious belief, with the clergy and the men of Roman culture throughout the empire, a circumstance which very much favoured their further conquests. They had everywhere unavowed friends. But the other Teutons did not long maintain their Arianism; the Burgundians became Catholic in the year 517, the Suevi about 550, the Lombards in 587; while in 589, at the third Council of Toledo, the West Goths under their king Reccared abjured the Arian heresy and adopted the creed which we now call "Nicene." So the Arian cloud passed away, and the European continent became Catholic.

The troubles of the sixth century, when the invading tribes were consolidating their power, naturally turned men's minds to the thought of some retreat outside the prevailing turmoil. Monasticism had been introduced into the West in the fourth century. In the sixth it received an important development under the influence of Benedict of Nursia (d. 543). After founding several small houses, he took up his dwelling in Monte Cassino (528), between Subiaco and Naples, where he founded a monastery, to which

he gave a new Rule of Life, afterwards called, after him, the Benedictine. His leading thought seems to have been to provide a household which might serve as a retreat from the troubles and temptations of the world, and in which the brethren should devote themselves to prayer and labour. Each monk, when he joined the society, pledged himself to firmness of resolution, change of life, and obedience to God and His saints. The monks chose from among themselves in each house a fatherly ruler (abbat), who was, within the limits of the Rule, supreme. Benedict enjoined no excessive austerity nor petty restrictions; the dress of the brethren seems to have been the usual dress of the peasant, and like peasants they laboured, but in such a manner as not to interrupt the due attendance on the Divine Office. His Rule, so wisely drawn, became the model for Western monasticism, and impressed upon a world in the throes of dissolution the blessing to be found in a life of order, industry, obedience, and simplicity. The literary labours, however, for which in after years the Benedictines were famous, were not directly prescribed by their founder; it is to Cassiodorus (d. 563) that the credit is due of first setting monks to work at literature. He, withdrawing in 540 from the cares of state in which his life had been spent, founded a monastery on his estate in Bruttium, the southern extremity of Italy, where by precept and example he invited the monks to the study of sacred and profane literature, and trained them to the careful transcription of manuscripts and the binding of books. The system spread until the multiplication of manuscripts became, fortunately for posterity, a recognized employment of monastic life.

In Britain, from the year 449 for more than a century, the pagan Saxons pressed in from the east,

driving before them the Christian Britons into the western hills, and annihilating the Church in the greater part of the island. It was probably a Briton, Patricius or St. Patrick, who, perhaps about the year 432, carried over Christianity to the western isle, Ireland, destined itself to be a mother of saints and especially of evangelists. While Britain and the Continent were overwhelmed by the Teutonic invasion, she enjoyed calm, and became a light to lighten those who sat in darkness. In the year 563, St. Columba crossed the strait in a frail bark of wicker covered with hides, and on the small island of I, Hy, or Iona, founded a monastery which became the source of Christianity for Scotland and the north of England. And from Ireland too came many of the most earnest and successful preachers of the Gospel on the Continent, especially in those Teutonic regions which had formed part of the empire. On the Rhine and in Switzerland these apostles from the West built monasteries, improved agriculture, and introduced the arts of peace, while they laboured to convert the heathen and to enforce a stricter life among the Christians and their clergy. About the year 590 the Irish monk Columbanus taught the Franks and Burgundians near the Vosges, founding the monastery at Luxeuil, and afterwards the Allemanni on the Lake of Constance, where he himself founded the monastery of Bregenz, and his disciple Gallus that of St. Gall. In Italy he founded the famous convent of Bobbio. His fellow-countryman Fridolin built that of Säckingen on an island in the Rhine. Würzburg venerates the Irish St. Kilian as its first bishop. In the middle of the seventh century the Franks took up the work. Emmeran founded, about 712, the convent which bears his name in Ratisbon; Rupert (d. 717) left his see of Worms to work in Bavaria,

and in the end founded the bishopric of Salzburg; Corbinian settled (718) in Freising, which he made the seat of a bishop. The Franks Amandus and Eligius, about 650, worked among the Frisians on the Scheldt and further east, and their efforts were seconded at a somewhat later date by the English Willibrord (690—739), who founded the abbey of Echternach.

Meantime, in the year 596, Augustin, a Roman monk, had landed with several companions in Kent, and, favoured by Ethelbert, the king of that country, had founded the see of Canterbury. From this time Christianity spread among the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons who had displaced the original inhabitants. In the great kingdom of Mercia and in the land of the East Saxons, it was by bishops of the school of Iona and their English disciples that in the middle of the seventh century the Church was built up. The Burgundian Felix (627) preached to the East Angles. A bishop from Italy, Birinus (635), sent by Pope Honorius, converted the English of Wessex. A teacher from the north, Wilfrid of York (664—709), was the Apostle of the South Saxons. As the Church founded by the Roman missionaries spread into the interior of the country, it came in contact with the British Church which still existed in the west, and with the converts of the Irish missionaries in the north. The Keltic Church, remote from Rome and but slightly connected with it, had developed customs of its own: it had a peculiar Easter and a peculiar tonsure; the centre of its organization was the monastery rather than the bishop. These differences, and the arrogant tone of the Roman clergy, moved the Kelts to refuse to accept the authority of Augustin as archbishop, and it was not until Theodore occupied the metropolitan see (668—690) that, as Bede says, all the English Church obeyed one arch-

bishop. The Welsh bishops did not fully acknowledge the jurisdiction of Canterbury until the twelfth century.

While the West was being remodelled, the Eastern empire remained comparatively unchanged. The most imposing figure among the emperors of the sixth century is Justinian (527–565), under whom paganism was at last suppressed in the empire, with the exception of a few remote districts. It was by his direction and under his influence that the famous code of imperial law was drawn up by skilled jurists. Such a man naturally wished to restore law and order in the Church as well as in the State, and with this view he issued (544) a decree, commonly known as the Three Chapters or Articles, in which he attempted to conciliate the Monophysites—those who believed that in the Incarnate Lord the divine was so mingled with the human as to form only one nature—without offending the orthodox. In the East this was generally welcomed, but was steadily resisted in the West. The emperor nevertheless succeeded in inducing Pope Vigilius to put forth (548) a decision to the same effect as the edict. This raised so violent a storm in the Western, particularly the African, Church, that Vigilius faced about and defended what he had so lately condemned. The emperor, in great perplexity, summoned a council (the Fifth Œcumenical) at Constantinople (553), which approved the emperor's edicts, and struck out the name of Vigilius from the list of those who were commemorated in the Eucharist. In 554 the Pope, terrified by the success of the imperial armies in Italy, again changed his mind, and accepted the decrees of the Council. The result was that Justinian's attempt to regulate ecclesiastical dogma, while it alienated the Western Church, failed to win the Monophysites. It was, in

fact, from this period that they formed separate communities in many parts of the empire.

Vigilius died, unmourned and unhonoured, in the year 555. His successors for a generation were not men of mark, and the dignity of the see of Rome was perhaps never in greater peril than when the weakest of the popes were brought into collision with the strongest of the emperors.

But at the end of the sixth century came a great change. During the troublous times which followed the dissolution of the Western Empire in 476, the Papacy had served as a rallying-point for the Italian population. It was indeed for a time the only stable authority, and then it was that a Roman Council (502) could repudiate all interference of the laity in matters ecclesiastical, and declare that the successor of St. Peter could be judged by no man. Justinian's conquest in Italy brought the popes again under the influence of the Eastern emperor, with great damage to their reputation for orthodoxy and independence. But in Gregory I. was found a man fully capable of resisting the usurpations of the secular powers. A Roman noble, gifted with the old Roman instinct for governing, and likely to rise high in civil office, Gregory suddenly left the worldly life (579) and turned his ancestral palace into a monastery, where he practised and enforced the most severe austerities. In 590 he was drawn from his seclusion and compelled to ascend the papal throne. There he soon displayed his energy of will and his power of administration. He reformed the music of the Church, and gave to the Roman liturgy essentially the form which it still retains. Though sharing himself in the old classic culture, he cared nothing for literature or science, and despised the refinements of style which were fashionable in that age, gaining

thereby a straightforward manner greatly to be preferred to the affectations of Cassiodorus. His practical writings, though often founded on the most strained allegorical interpretations of Scripture, had very great influence both in his own time and throughout the Middle Ages. Seeing plainly that it was of the utmost importance for the Papacy to be independent of any secular power, he made himself virtually sovereign in Rome, playing off the Lombards in North Italy against the imperial authority so as to escape subjection to either. Yet his position exposed him to some humiliation. He had to accept an edict of the Emperor Maurice, which at heart he disapproved, and he bought the humiliation of his rival at Constantinople, who had claimed to be Œcumenical Patriarch, at the price of congratulating the usurper and murderer Phocas on his accession to the imperial throne. Perhaps his greatest work, if we look to its consequences, was the conversion of the Kentish men through the agency of his friend Augustin. Gregory, who died in the year 604, may be regarded as the founder of the mediæval Papacy.

Both East and West were involved in the Monothelete controversy. About 625 the Emperor Heraclius, hoping to re-unite the Monophysites to the Church, caused a declaration to be issued to the effect that, although there were in the God-Man two natures, there was but one *will* or energy. This at first found some acceptance, but also vehement opposition. In 638 the emperor issued a statement, drawn up by Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and confirmed in writing by Honorius, the Roman bishop, which attributed to the one Christ one will (thelema). The Church of the West now rose against the new dogma, and, after various attempts at compromise, Pope Martin I. in the first Lateran Council (649) went so

far as to condemn the dogma of the One Will and the imperial ordinances relating to it. The courageous Pope was arrested by the imperial officials, found guilty of high-treason by a court at Constantinople, and ended his days in exile (655). Some years later, Constantine Pogonatus, dreading the effects of schism, summoned an Œcumenical Council (the Sixth) to Constantinople (680), at which, under the influence of the Roman bishop Agatho, the Monotheletes, and especially Pope Honorius, were anathematized. Romanist historians have naturally struggled to deny or explain this condemnation of an infallible pope by a pope and a council. Under the Emperor Philippicus Bardanes (711–13) the Monotheletes in the Greek Church had a brief ascendency, but from the time of his successor, Anastasius II., they everywhere declined, and maintained themselves under a patriarch of their own only in the monastery of St. Maro on the Lebanon, where they exist to this day under the name of Maronites. The presence of the divine and human nature in one Person remains, for reverent minds, a mystery.

In the days of Heraclius arose a new religion, which was destined to overspread a large part of the world. The Arabian peninsula had been for some generations the scene of religious ferment, for in it were found Jews, Christians, and the adherents of many ancient religions. Here an Arab of genius, Mohammed, influenced by Talmudic Judaism and such scraps of Christianity as were found in some Gnostic sects, from about the year 511, attempted to unite the tribes in the worship of one Almighty God, whose prophet was Mohammed. His religion involved religious, moral, and ceremonial precepts, often excellent, sometimes detestable, and was intended to regulate the life of the community as well as in-

dividual souls. Before his death (632) the prophet had drawn round him a formidable army and obtained some successes; but these were insignificant compared with the conquests won by the armies of Islam—a name designating the self-surrender of the true believer in Mohammed—under his successors, the Califs. From the year 633 their victorious career began. They attacked the two great empires, the Byzantine and the Persian, and both in the East and West they made immense conquests. In the year after the death of Mohammed, Southern Palestine and the plain of the Euphrates were conquered; in 635 Damascus fell, in 637 Babylonia, in 638 Jerusalem itself. In 640 Egypt was invaded; in 642 the great city of Alexandria was taken by storm and the victorious army pressed on westward. By the end of the year 650 the conquest of Persia was complete. Then for more than forty years the tide of victory was arrested by internal dissensions, but in 693 it flowed again, reaching in the East to the borders of India, in the North to Armenia, Asia Minor, and Thrace, until it was stayed under the walls of Constantinople by the valiant Emperor Leo the Isaurian (717). Meantime, further conquests were made in the West. In 709 the conquest of North Africa was completed, and the Berbers attached to the Mohammedan host. In 710 the first raid was made on Spain; in the following year the famous leader Tarik landed with his band at Tarifa, and the Gothic monarchy was destroyed at the battle of the Guadelete (711), where Roderic fell, the last of the Gothic kings. In 714 the invaders had become masters of Spain, except a small territory in the north-west. In 718 they made their first expedition beyond the Pyrenees, and between 720 and 725 took possession of Narbonne, Carcassonne, and Nismes. All

Europe seemed in danger, when in 732 they were met in the plain between Tours and Poitiers by a great army of Franks under Charles Martel, and after a terrible and long-continued struggle utterly defeated. In 759 they were compelled to evacuate Narbonne, and from that time the Pyrenees were the bound of their conquests in that direction.

Meanwhile, the Goths in Spain were by no means crushed. About 718 a West-Gothic leader, Pelagius or Pelayo, took refuge with a handful of followers in the Asturian hills; many Goths flocked to his standard, and he was recognized as their king. The quarrel between Berbers and Arabs gave his son-in-law, Alphonso I. (739—756), the opportunity to form the Gothic-Christian kingdom of Asturia, and to confine the Berbers within a boundary-line passing by Coimbra, Talavera, Toledo, Guadalajara, Tudela, and Pamplona. Within this line was maintained the Gothic power which in time reconquered Spain.

In the dominions of the Franks and the Goths the Arab conquest was checked, but Islam had become the greatest power in the world. The dominion of the Califs included the east, south, and north-west coast of the Mediterranean, and the countries between the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf on the one side, and the mountains of Afghanistan on the other. And even where the subject populations were not converted in religion, they received an influence from their Moslem masters which was never wholly obliterated. The once continuous chain of Christian nations which surrounded the Mediterranean was broken. The western portion of the Sea was dominated by Arab warships and pirates. The Byzantine Empire, after a short interruption, resumed its commerce with the East, but the merchants of the

West found their old way to the ports of Asia Minor and Syria almost closed.

The Church was not annihilated in the regions occupied by Islam, but it was much weakened. The empire was in many countries regarded as an oppressor, and the Church shared its unpopularity, so that the common people were often ready to welcome a system which offered them brotherhood and equality. Greece and Asia Minor still acknowledged the rule of Byzantium, but in Egypt Islam spread among the people. In Syria the Patriarchate of Antioch was reduced to a shadow of its former self; in Africa but a pitiful remnant was left; in Spain the great mass of the Southern population, especially the Jews, exchanged the Gothic dominion for the Arabic with equanimity if not with joy; but Christianity remained. The Mosarabes—the Christian Spaniards living under Arab rule—retained their own Latin liturgy even when they commonly spoke Arabic. On the whole, though the Church under the dominion of Islam was much curtailed in numbers and dignity, the hierarchy gained by the removal of their subjection to the Byzantine court. The bishops became the recognized heads of the faithful in their dioceses; much authority was given to them, and they were held responsible by the supreme government for the good behaviour of their laity in civil as well as religious matters. The position of an Eastern patriarch under Islam became in fact not very unlike that of the Jewish High Priest under Persia or Egypt.

The rise of the Teutonic kingdoms very much weakened the power of the Roman see. Kings of freemen were not disposed to tolerate the interference of a foreign bishop within their dominions. The Western Church was resolved into the Frankish, the Lombard, and the Spanish Churches, while the

Anglo-Saxon kings, even those who derived their Christianity from Rome, claimed in their several territories precisely the same rights which the kings of the Franks exercised over the Frankish Church. The papal power at the end of the seventh century was at its lowest point, and the power of territorial princes over the Churches at its highest. Then there went forth from England a man destined to change all this over a large part of Europe —Winfrith, better known as Boniface. Leaving England in 716 he worked among the Frisians, and afterwards, under a commission from Rome, in Hesse and Thuringia. His greatest work, however, begins with his consecration as bishop at Rome (Nov. 30, 722), when he took an oath of obedience to the Pope, such as none but Italian bishops had taken before. He believed that the salvation of the Church depended upon its unity, and that unity was only attainable in union with the great patriarchal see of the West. In this spirit he worked in Germany, converting, founding, organizing. After the death of Charles Martel (741), who tolerated no interference in the affairs of his kingdom, he reformed the discipline of the Frankish Church, and drew it nearer to the Papacy. In 748 his eminent services were recognized by his promotion to the see of Mainz, where he was the first who bore the title of archbishop. On a journey which he had undertaken for the re-organization of the Frisian Church, he was murdered (June 5, 755) by pagans near Dokkum in Holland. To him more than to any other man is due the rise of the mediæval Papacy.

As the Church grew and included many nations, it became more and more necessary to have a code of law for the guidance of its judges. Laws the Church had from the first, but as canons multiplied, it was

desirable to know which were universally accepted. Probably at some date between 498 and 514 Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian monk who understood both Greek and Latin, published a collection of the canons of councils generally accepted in East and West, together with such papal decretals as he could discover in Rome from Siricius, who became Pope in 385, to Anastasius, who died in 497. This Code came to be received in the West as of paramount authority. A collection of canons and decretals for the use of the Spanish Church was made, probably about 634, by Isidore of Seville.

While the power of the Roman see was being increased by the earnest service of the faithful Boniface, it received an accession of reputation from a series of remarkable writings. The most ancient part of the *Liber Pontificalis*, a collection of Lives of the Popes, was probably put forth about the year 700, though an earlier date—about 520—is supported by good authority. In it are embodied the principal legends of the Papacy which had been current in the Roman Church from the fourth century onward. The tendency of these legends is to represent the Roman bishop as the lawgiver and supreme judge of the whole Church from the very earliest days of Christianity, and as standing above all earthly tribunals. A pope may judge himself, but he cannot be judged of others. The most important of the fictions of the *Liber* is one which had been current as early as the year 500, that Constantine had been baptized in Rome by Silvester, who was Pope from 314—345. Most of the stories of the *Liber* were known and unquestioned in the time of Bede.

About the year 730 was invented at Rome the story of the Donation of Constantine, who was represented as granting to Silvester "the city of Rome,

and all the provinces, places, and cities of Italy or the Western regions." This document, which was first made use of in the negotiations with Pepin in 754, being accepted as sober history in the Middle Ages, was one of the steps on which the Papacy climbed towards supremacy. It was first called in question by Otto of Freising in the twelfth century.

Out of the chaos of the Teutonic invasion states were formed which contained the germs of the modern nations of Europe. These were brought into the Christian Church, but their conversion was at first more outward than inward; the task of Christianizing them was hard and occupied some centuries. Classical cultivation had been almost overwhelmed in the barbarian storm. The old laws and traditions were for the most part swept away, and it was but slowly that a new system, founded partly on the customs of the Teutonic invaders, partly on the Roman law, partly arising from the new circumstances, took their place. Under the constant wars and migrations of the half-savage Teutons a brutal coarseness overspread once civilized lands, and with the heathen converts many heathen conceptions and customs crept into the Church. Under such circumstances it was natural that the lives and the teaching of the clergy should deteriorate. Among the more ascetic clergy in the West marriage was regarded as incompatible with the service of the altar, and the popes of the latter part of the fourth and the early part of the fifth century had insisted on the celibacy of the clergy. But in the kingdoms formed by the Teutonic invaders this was little regarded; priests and even bishops were very commonly married. And as the ministers of the Church came to be well endowed with land and tithes, they lived in much the same way as laymen, and were naturally anxious to

provide for their families. With the increase of endowments the offerings of the faithful became less important, and it is very doubtful whether the old custom, which divided the income of the Church into four equal parts—for the bishop, the parish priests, the fabric of the churches, and the poor—continued to be observed. In the East the Trullan Council (691) distinctly permitted married men to be admitted to the priesthood, though it forbade second marriages of priests or deacons, and looked with disfavour on all marriages contracted after ordination. And when Frankish kings, nobles, and clergy practised openly licentiousness and violence, it was impossible that a high standard of purity and humanity could be maintained among the people. Christianity was looked upon mainly as a system of commands and prescriptions, and a superstitious value was attached to particular words and acts. Monastic asceticism was overvalued, while the morality of common life was depreciated. Excommunication carried with it civil penalties, and was much dreaded; but, on the other hand, the buying off the penalties of sin by a fine or weregeld passed from the civil to the religious sphere, and deprived the law of much of its terror. If sin was not expiated in this life, the soul must be cleansed in purgatorial fire, which in this age became a prominent part of ecclesiastical teaching. Ceremonies, which a half-pagan people more readily accepted than instruction or discipline, tended constantly to increase; legends of saints, and especially stories of wonder-working relics, were eagerly received; a Christian meaning was given to pagan observances, and sometimes even the traits of a heathen deity transferred to a Christian saint. A hierarchy of departed saints sprang up which much resembled polytheism. In the seventh century the Frankish

clergy had acquired large possessions, and the bishops for the most part appear as great landowners and powerful lords, rather than as the guides and shepherds of a spiritual flock. The appointment to bishoprics had fallen almost entirely into the hands of the king, that to parochial cures into those of lay patrons. Synods, which could not be called without leave of the king, ceased in the Frankish dominions altogether, and ecclesiastical business was transacted in the general assembly of the kingdom, which sometimes did but ill protect the rights and the riches of the Church. In Spain the bishops preserved greater independence and more influence, but here, for the greater part of the country, the state of things was utterly changed from the beginning of the eighth century by the conquests of the Arabs.

Meanwhile literature was almost dying out. Even the clergy, who should have upheld the torch of learning, sank into ignorance, and only in the monasteries and their schools were some remnants of literary culture preserved. Men like Prosper of Aquitaine (d. 463), Avitus of Vienne (d. 525), Cæsarius of Arles (d. 542), fall below the standard of Jerome and Augustin, but from these to their successors the descent is greater still. In Boethius (d. 524) and Cassiodorus (d. 568), whose works greatly influenced the Middle Ages, we see the last gleam of the old classical culture, the former looking back to the setting paganism, while the latter looks forward to rising Christianity. Gregory of Tours (540—594) was a man full of noble simplicity and piety, but in his history we see how ill-regulated were the lives of clergy and people alike, while his language shows the influence of the country speech which he heard about him. In the seventh century there was still some light found in the cloisters of Ireland, England, and

Spain. The Irish literature of this age has for the most part perished, but the scanty remains of Columbanus (d. 615) show him to have been acquainted with the ancient classics. Isidore of Seville (d. 636) was a man of real learning. Theodore of Canterbury (d. 690) opened in England a new era in the cultivation of all kinds of learning. Aldhelm, Bishop of Salisbury (d. 709), possessed the extraordinary accomplishment of Greek, and shows himself in his writings, both prose and verse, to have been a man of letters as well as a man of learning. But he was surpassed by the Venerable Bede (d. 735), who in the solitude of his cloister on the banks of the Tyne was able to acquaint himself with all the learning of his own time, and became one of the most valued teachers of the time to come.

In the East the learned tradition never wholly died out. Of Eastern theologians we may mention especially Johannes Chrysorrhoas (d. *c.* 754), commonly called Damascenus from the place of his birth, whose treatise on the orthodox faith, an able summary of theology as accepted by the Eastern Church of his time, has ever since been regarded as a standard work, and has probably influenced the Greeks as much as the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas has the Latins.

By the middle of the eighth century the Church of the West had conquered the most important portions of the territory which it occupied in the Middle Ages. Southern Spain was ruled by Mohammedan princes, but the Church there survived. In Asia and Africa also Christians were under the Mohammedan rule, and in these territories Christianity lost ground which was not recovered. But the Greek Church was still the bulwark of Eastern Christianity, and maintained the tradition of theology and philosophy which at the

end of the Middle Ages spread over Europe. In the converted Teutonic peoples, with all their rudeness, were found vigorous germs destined to bear much fruit in the years to come. The first thorough-going attempt to bring order into this rough growth was made by Charles the Great.

CHAPTER II

CHARLES THE GREAT AND THE REVIVED ROMAN EMPIRE

Of all the states which sprang out of the Teutonic migration, that of the Franks was unquestionably the most important. Including as it did the whole of Gaul and the most important part of Germany, it needed only internal unity and a vigorous sovereign to become the leading power among the German peoples. The union of the divided Franks was begun under Pepin of Heristall, the Austrasian mayor of the palace, after the battle of Testri (687), when the Neustrians were completely defeated. His son Charles Martel (714—741), after restoring order among the Franks and consolidating his power, in the great battle of Tours (732) routed the invading Arab host and delivered Europe from a most formidable enemy. He dealt roughly enough with the clergy in his dominions, but the new relations which he established between the Franks and the Pope led in the end to the increased power of the Papacy. His son Pepin the Short resumed his father's task of regulating the Frank power, and determined to put an end to the dynasty of the shadow-kings in whose name he ruled. The Pope, who had come to look upon the Franks as his best friends, sanctioned the deposition of Childeric, the last of the line of Clovis, and in 751 Boniface

recognized Pepin as king of the Franks. In 754 he and his two sons, Charles and Carloman, received from the Pope himself (Stephen II.) the anointing which hallowed their kingship. In 756, Pepin, after overcoming the Lombards in Italy, presented to the see of St. Peter the territories which became the Papal State, and received in return the title of Patrician of the Romans. Pepin was succeeded (768) by his son Charles, who came to be known, deservedly, as Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, for he was indeed one of the greatest rulers the world has known. In 774 he finally subjugated the Lombards, who had constantly harassed the Pope; henceforth the alliance between the bishop of Rome and the king of the Franks was of the closest kind. At last, on Christmas Day, 800, before the high altar of St. Peter's at Rome, Pope Leo III. placed a golden crown on his head, and, amid the acclamations of the people, declared him Emperor and Augustus. This event is one of the great epochs of history. In the first place, the bishop of Rome, now that the Western Empire was revived, no longer paid even nominal subjection to the Byzantine emperor; and a great step was made towards the separation of the Latin from the Greek Church. Again, the great name of emperor was revived, which had filled the imagination of the world, and that in the closest connection with the Papacy. To the minds of that time, the Roman Empire was almost the necessary counterpart of the Roman Catholic Church; there should be one ruler in the State, as one ruler in the Church. The emperor was recognized as the supreme temporal power on earth. He was over-lord or suzerain of Rome itself; to him it belonged to guide and guard the election of popes, and to confirm the choice when made. To him belonged a certain right of supervision

even over the Pope himself. On the other hand, the emperor acknowledged that the Pope—with however little right—had bestowed upon him the imperial crown, though immediately after the coronation he had "adored" the man upon whom the crown was bestowed. In form, the empire of Charles was but a carrying on of that of Augustus and Constantine; but in substance it was very different. Whatever its short-comings, it was destined to be a kind of political centre of the world for a thousand years. And the Roman Church rose with the empire to a new attitude in the world. She was the humble servant of Charles, but from the fact that she had made the emperor she drew her vast pretensions to universal dominion, and under such circumstances there could scarcely be a solid and lasting peace between the Church and the empire. Two cannot walk together except they be agreed, and where each will be first they do not agree.

Charlemagne himself was too great a man to be the subject of the Pope, however lofty his claims, and in 813 he assumed the right of naming his son, Lewis the Pious, as his successor in the imperial dignity. Charles the Bald, however, in 875, submitted to the claim of Pope John VIII. to create him emperor, and after his death the Pope, after much vacillation, chose from among the pretenders Charles the Fat to succeed him (881). In fact, for some generations after the death of Charlemagne, circumstances were very favourable for the development of the authority of the see of Rome. The incessant struggles among his descendants, and the division of the empire after the death of Lewis the Pious, crippled the unity, and therefore the power, of the secular authority, while they gave the popes many opportunities of interfering, which often

resulted in an acknowledgment of further claims. And it must be acknowledged that a strong central spiritual power was often the only protection from the rudeness and violence of that stormy period.

And a time in which the critical faculty was wholly wanting rendered easy the introduction of documents framed to support claims which had in fact no justification whatever. Tares were plentifully sown in the field of the Church, and there was no one to separate them from the corn. The Donation of Constantine and the *Liber Pontificalis* have already been mentioned, but in the middle of the ninth century appeared – seemingly between the years 836 and 857—probably the most important forgeries which the wit of man ever devised. This was a collection of ecclesiastical canons and documents of various kinds, bearing the name of the Isidore, by which title it was no doubt intended to suggest that the compiler was Isidore of Seville, to whom a collection of canons made in Spain was already attributed. There can be little doubt that it was in fact put forth in the Frankish kingdom, perhaps at Rheims. It is composed of three parts. The first contains a series of forged Decretal Letters of Popes, sixty in number, extending from Clement to Melchiades (d. 314) The second consists of the canons of councils already contained in the genuine Isidorian collection, continued to the year 683, to which is prefixed the Donation of Constantine and other documents. The third gives Decretal Letters of the Popes from Sylvester to Gregory II. (d. 731), of which thirty-five are not genuine. When we speak of these documents as forgeries, it is not to be understood that any one person devised and wrote them simply from his own imagination. They embody for the most part opinions current in the Church of Rome, and especially

many of the not very pious fictions of the *Liber Pontificalis*. But the fact remains, that they attribute to early popes documents of which they could not possibly be the authors. And the value of them to the Roman see is, that they give an appearance of antiquity and authority to claims which in reality have neither. The general tendency of the interpolations is to exalt the Pope and the bishops, and to give them immunity from the civil power; an aim which the lawlessness of the time to a great extent excused, though the means by which it was sought to attain it are disgraceful to those who devised and to those who availed themselves of them. They deny altogether the competence of a secular tribunal to sit in judgment on a bishop; and without the assent of the Pope no provincial synod may be called or pass sentence on a bishop. Even before an ecclesiastical tribunal, such as a synod, no lay person or cleric in minor orders can be admitted as accuser or even as witness against a bishop, and seventy-two witnesses were required for a conviction. A metropolitan cannot sentence a bishop of his province, but only preside in the synod which tries him; and if the accused bishop regards those who compose the court as partial or hostile, he may appeal to the Pope before sentence is passed. In fact, to bring an accusation against a bishop was rendered so difficult as to be almost impossible. But while spiritual persons were carefully withdrawn from secular jurisdiction, spiritual tribunals were empowered to deal with secular affairs. It must not be said that the mediæval Papacy was founded on the pseudo-Isidorian decretals, but its claims acquired from the forged documents a precision and an authority which they had not before possessed. The false decretals gained admission into collections

of canons, and so into the *Decretum Gratiani*, which forms the first part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*. Their true nature soon appeared in the spreading enlightenment of the fifteenth century, but by that time they had done their work; nor has the Church of Rome ever repudiated documents the falsity of which is fully recognized by her own critics and theologians.

The tendency of these interpolations in the canon law was to diminish the power of metropolitans, the representatives of national churches, and to bring the Papacy into more immediate contact with the whole hierarchy. And Nicholas I. (858—867), an epoch-making pope, was very ready to use the implements provided for him. It had already become customary for metropolitans to ask from the Supreme Pontiff the pallium which was the ensign of their office. Nicholas granted it only on condition that the recipient promised in the most solemn manner to receive and execute the decrees of the see of Rome. In 865 he made use of his new powers to humble Hincmar, the great archbishop of Rheims, by restoring a bishop whom he had deposed. He also proceeded with great vigour, if not with complete success, against the archbishops of Cologne and Trèves, who had favoured the divorce of the Frankish king, Lothair II. Gunther of Cologne at any rate, supported by the king, in spite of the Pope's deprivation remained in possession of the temporalities of his see at the time of Nicholas's death. And in another direction the imperious Pontiff showed his desire to rule the world. He broke off intercourse with Photius, patriarch of Constantinople (863), because the latter had not submitted to the decision of the see of Rome the question whether Photius or Ignatius was the rightful patriarch. Differences on

points of dogma aggravated the strife, and pope and patriarch launched excommunications at each other. Thus for the first time arose an actual separation of the Greek from the Latin Church. The Papacy grew in power; it remained erect when the empire of Charlemagne fell, and was the only centre of unity in divided Europe. But success in the perilous way on which it had entered required the strong hand of a Nicholas I. When his successor, Hadrian II. (867—872), attempted to enforce similar claims against Charles the Bald, he met with several rebuffs, and the bishops of the Frankish Church recovered something of their independence. Still, the acts of Nicholas were of great importance for the future. His example supplied an object at which the Papacy might steadily aim, and which in time it attained. It was partially gained when, after the deposition of Charles the Fat (887), the dismemberment of the empire enabled the Papacy to shake off the yoke of the Carlovingian princes, though this gain was almost compensated by the temptation which the divisions of the time offered to the Pope to involve himself in political struggles.

In the dominions of the Franks bishops became more and more dependent on the crown. They were sometimes directly appointed by it, sometimes elected under its dominant influence; and after election they had to do homage and take an oath of allegiance to the sovereign. Ecclesiastical decrees could not be enforced without the assent of the civil power, and ecclesiastical persons were not exempt from the duty of supplying their quota to the royal armies. Sometimes bishops even served in person. Estates of the Church were not uncommonly applied by the king to purposes which the Church did not approve, though the high-handed violence which had rendered Charles

Martel o lious to the clergy was no longer practised by Pepin and his successors. But the bishops never wholly lost the privileges conferred upon them by Charles the Great and Lewis the Pious, and the clergy at large were no doubt greatly benefited by Charles's legislation with regard to tithes. Moreover, when the sovereign was weak he was glad to buy the support of the clergy by conferring privileges and exemptions upon them.

The cause of order and discipline in the Church gained much by the stricter enforcement of law under the rule of Charlemagne, and by the schools first introduced by Boniface and greatly extended by Charles. About the year 760 Chrodegang reintroduced the common life under a Rule for the clergy of the cities, already recommended by St. Augustine. In this "canonical life" the clergy of a city lived together in one house under the superintendence of the bishop, or, where there was no bishop, of a provost or dean, and so came to be called "canonici" or canons. They had an income assigned to them by the bishop from the property of the Church, but were not forbidden, as the monks were, to possess private means. Another reformer of the spiritual life was Benedict of Aniane, who had in his youth, then bearing the name Witiza, taken part in Charlemagne's expedition against the Lombards (774). When he received the call to forsake the world, he took the name of the sainted father of Western monasticism, and founded a convent at Aniane in the Cevennes, where he endeavoured to restore primitive zeal and purity, and to train the new generation of clergy. A great step was made when Lewis the Pious gave him authority over all the monasteries within his dominions, so that the hitherto isolated communities became an organized

body. In 813 a diet at Aix imposed his improved Rule upon all the monasteries within the empire.

And the culture of the clergy generally improved under the rule of Charles. The great emperor used his power to encourage education within his dominions. He drew to his court a succession of the most able and learned men of his time, and caused schools to be founded in connection with churches and monasteries. And the same love of learning was showed by his successors, Lewis the Pious and Charles the Bald. To the reign of Charles the Great belong the English Alcuin (725—804), the founder of the famous school at Tours and the emperor's chief adviser in all his educational projects; Paul Warnefrid, commonly known as Paulus Diaconus (740—799), the historian of the Lombards; and Eginhard (771—840), his secretary, counsellor, and biographer. To the reigns of his son and grandson belong the famous archbishop Agobard of Lyons (bp. 814—840), Claudius, bishop of Turin (bp. 820—839), who had the courage even in that age to impugn the veneration paid to saints and images; the learned Rabanus Maurus (776—856), archbishop of Mainz; Walafrid Strabo, abbot (842—849) of Reichenau, author of the *Ordinary Gloss*, which long maintained its place as a kind of authorized marginal comment on Scripture; Servatus Lupus, abbot (from 842) of Ferrières, who opposed his old master Rabanus on the predestination question; Paschasius Radbert (abbot of Corbie about 841) and his opponent Ratramn (d. 868); and the greatest of them all, a man of remarkable genius, John Scotus Erigena (d. *c.* 880), probably, as his name implies, a Scot of Ireland. He was the author of a system of philosophy and theology, in which Neo-Platonism and Christianity were blended, not without some

straining of the latter, but displaying a subtlety of thought and an audacity of conception which made it almost a miracle in an age so destitute of the philosophic spirit. Towards the end of the ninth century Alfred the Great, king of England (871—901), earned undying fame by his pursuit of knowledge in a dark age, and his efforts to promote education in his kingdom.

With the increased activity of thought theological controversy revived. Besides its participation in the iconoclastic controversy, the Frankish Church was disturbed by disputes on the subject of Adoptianism. This arose from the proposition maintained by two Spanish bishops, Felix of Urgellæ and his metropolitan Elipandus of Toledo, that Christ, in His humanity, was the son of God by adoption only, not by nature, and that as a consequence He was, as man, not omniscient. After the dispute had lasted several years this proposition was condemned as heretical both in provincial synods and at Rome, and Felix was banished to Lyons.

In the year 787 the second Council of Nicæa declared that the Eucharistic elements, after consecration, are, in a strict sense, the Body and Blood of Christ. In the West controversy arose when, in the year 844, Paschasius Radbert published his view that in the Holy Eucharist the Bread and Wine are actually changed or transmuted into the Body and Blood of Christ, although the "figure" or outward appearance remains as before consecration. Ratramn of Corbie, while fully recognizing the presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, pointed out that it was not the Body of Christ which was crucified that was present on the altar; for that could be known by the senses; whereas in the Eucharist that which feeds the body is cognizable by the senses, but that which faith

receives, spiritual food and spiritual drink, feeding the soul in a spiritual manner, is not sensible. The majority of the most respected theologians of the time sided with Ratramn, but the view of Radbert, supported as it was by stories of bleeding hosts, won its way both in theology and in popular belief.

To this period also belongs a third controversy, raised by Gottshalk, a monk of Orbais. A diligent student of St. Augustine's writings, he declared his master's teaching to involve a double predestination, of the elect to the rest of Paradise, of the reprobate to death. This was considered heretical by the archbishops Rabanus Maurus of Mainz and Hincmar of Rheims, and the unfortunate heretic, after being brought before two councils, at Mainz (848) and Rheims (849), was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, though powerful voices were raised on his behalf. The decisions of these councils were not supposed to touch St. Augustine, but that he was in fact condemned together with Gottshalk scarcely admits of doubt.

The increased veneration for the elements in the Eucharist naturally brought with it an increase in its expression by word and gesture in the Eucharistic office. The honours paid to saints departed also became more marked and more frequent in the eighth and ninth centuries; their festivals occupied many days in the Christian Calendar, and great respect was paid to their relics and their images. With regard to the latter there arose a controversy which convulsed the Eastern Church for more than a century, and found an echo in the West. In the year 726 the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, a brave and successful soldier, stimulated perhaps by the gibes of Jews and Mohammedans at the Christian idolatry, forbade prostration before images, and in 730, seeing

the uselessness of this prohibition, ordered images in churches to be removed and pictures to be white-washed over. Tumults which arose upon this were repressed with a strong hand, though almost the whole of the clergy, including the Pope, were for maintaining the images, and the reverence paid to them found an ingenious defender in the famous theologian, John of Damascus (d. 756), the great master of subsequent Greek theology. The successor of Leo followed in his steps, and in 754 a council at Constantinople, under the influence of the Emperor Constantine V., decreed the removal of images and pictures from the churches; but in the end the imperial power struggled in vain against the mobs and the monks who represented the dominant tendency of the age, and in the year 787 the second Council of Nicæa, protected by the Empress Irene, ordered salutation and honorific adoration to be paid to "icons," that is, mosaics or paintings of sacred figures. This did not end the strife; the minds of the people were divided, and violence was used both by the friends and the opponents of images. Under Leo the Armenian, almost as eager an iconoclast as his Isaurian namesake, a council at Constantinople (815) condemned the decrees of Nicæa. At last, in 842, the Empress Theodora restored the icons and their adoration, and procured for them the sanction of the Church through a council held at Constantinople. Opposition was even then not wholly extinguished, but these decrees were not reversed.

Turning to the West, we find a council at Gentilly (767) under Pepin condemning the veneration and adoration of images, though it tolerates them for the decoration of churches. The decree of Nicæa in favour of images was transmitted by the Pope to Charlemagne, and drew from him a strong and

lengthy protest in the famous *Libri Carolini*, the Books of Charles (790), against the abuses which the council and the Pope had sanctioned. In 794 a council at Frankfort-on-the-Maine unanimously condemned and rejected the decree of the Greek synod as to the adoration due to images, and in 824 a council at Paris declared that the Pope had acted indiscreetly in commanding to give them superstitious adoration. Very eminent men, like Claudius, bishop of Turin, and Agobard, supported the decrees of these councils, but the tendency of the age towards sensuous worship was too strong to be resisted. Outward forms were more and more regarded as efficacious without inward devotion. In particular, pilgrimages to holy places, or to churches where objects of special sanctity were displayed, came to be frequent. In this connection, it is a point of great interest for subsequent history that in 807 Charlemagne received from the patriarch of Jerusalem the keys of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and so came to be regarded as the guardian of the place and the protector of those who came thither on pilgrimage.

The bounds of Christendom were enlarged both from the side of the Frankish and from that of the Greek Church. In the Mediterranean, Crete and Sicily fell into the hands of the Mohammedan Arabs, but in Peloponnesus the pagan Mainottes were converted, and on the mainland of Greece the scattered bands of invading Slavs. The Bulgarians were a further conquest, whose prince Bogoris received baptism in 864. After a transitory submission to Rome, this nation became a part of the Greek Church. From Thessalonica, a Greek city surrounded by Slavs, sprang Methodius and his brother Constantine, afterwards better known as Cyril. The

latter converted many of the Chazars, a Finnish race in South-east Russia, and with his brother brought into the Church of Christ the inhabitants of Moravia (*c.* 863). These acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, but were permitted, after a struggle, by Pope John VIII. (880) to use their own Slavonian tongue in the Liturgy.

Turning to the north, Charlemagne after a long and bloody warfare compelled the Saxons to receive Christian baptism and Christian institutions (785). About the same time Christianity made more peaceful conquests in North-western Germany through the preaching of Luidger and Willehad, and in Denmark and Sweden through that of the unwearied Ansgar (826–865), first archbishop of Hamburg. In Denmark, however, the warfare of Christianity by no means ended at this point. When Gorm brought the Danes together under his sovereignty, Christians were savagely persecuted, until Henry I., the German king, overcame him and took from him the province of Schleswig (934). Under Gorm's son Harold, who was himself baptized in 972, Christianity was re-established in Denmark and spread into Jutland, but it had again to endure persecution under Sweyn, the conqueror of England (991 ff.). The Norsemen had no doubt become acquainted with Christianity in their sea-roving; in 950, their king Haco, who had been educated at the court of Athelstan in England, introduced it into Norway, where it had at first not much success. When the Norsemen acquired a considerable territory in Northern France (913) they adopted both the language and the religion of the conquered, and became the Normans of history, ardent friends of the Church.

Bohemia received its Christianity from Moravia, where the Bohemian king Borziwoi (*c.* 895) had learnt

it at the court of Swatopulk. In spite of the king's patronage, however, it was vigorously resisted by the pagans, and Borziwoi's wife Ludmilla, with his grandson Wenceslas (938), was put to death. The German king, Otto the Great, in the year 950, compelled Wenceslas's brother and successor, Boleslav the Terrible, to tolerate the Christians; but it was by his son, Boleslav the Gentle (967—999), that the first serious attempt was made to Christianize the whole country, and even then it was long before some heathen practices, such as polygamy, were eradicated. By the influence of the Bohemian princess Dombrowka, the Polish Duke Miecislaw was led to accept baptism (966), and proceeded to exterminate paganism by force, with more success than generally attends such enterprises. The victory of Otto I. (955) compelled the Hungarians to adopt a less hostile attitude towards the Germans; Piligrim, bishop of Passau, whose name was soon surrounded by myths, wrought among them, as did also Adalbert of Prague (d. 997), and their king Geisa (972—997) received baptism; but it was through the zeal of his son Stephen (997—1038) that Christianity was established in Hungary and Transylvania, though the struggle of heathendom for existence continued throughout the eleventh century.

In the latter part of the tenth century the Greek Church made a conquest of vast importance for after ages. In the year 988 Vladimir the Great, the ruler of Russia, a descendant of the Norman Ruric, impressed (it is said) by the accounts received from his envoys of the splendour of the worship in St. Sophia's at Constantinople, received baptism from priests of the Greek communion, and then caused his people to receive the same rite by troops in the river Dnieper.

CHAPTER III

THE SAXON EMPERORS AND THE PAPACY

The male line of the Carlovingians failed with the death of Louis V. in the year 987. Their real power had ceased at an earlier date. But meantime the German kings of the Saxon line had risen into power. The greatest of these, Otto I., may indeed be considered as the second founder of the German Empire. Chosen king of the Germans in 951, he raised Germany to the position in Europe which it occupied during the Middle Ages. His great victory over the Magyars in 955 delivered him from a dangerous enemy and consolidated his power. In 962 he was crowned Roman emperor, and showed himself a man not unworthy to wield the sceptre of Charlemagne. His power as emperor was, however, in fact by no means so far-reaching, and even his authority as king was not so absolute as that of the early Frankish kings had been. The counts of the empire were no longer, as they once had been, servants of the king and instruments of his will, but rather the almost independent rulers of their counties, though acknowledging allegiance to their sovereign. And great hereditary dukedoms had arisen over which the king had little control. Having then but little reliance on the lay rulers, the king

turned for support to the Church. It was mainly on the ecclesiastical dignitaries that he bestowed lands, powers, and privileges. Sees and abbacies were not hereditary, and the king could ensure at every vacancy that they passed into the hands of men who would pay their dues to the king, whether of men or money, more readily than dukes and counts did. But the king could not rely upon the support of the Church unless he was able to fill its great offices with friends. It was therefore of the highest importance to him to maintain the right of investiture, the giving to the person chosen to an ecclesiastical office possession of the lands and privileges appertaining to it by some symbolical act, such as the delivery to a bishop of the episcopal ring and the pastoral staff. So long as the king was able to withhold investiture he had an effective veto on appointments.

Nowhere was the interference of the emperor more urgently called for than in Rome itself. When, towards the end of the ninth century, the Frankish kings ceased to exercise a dominant influence in Italian affairs, the Papacy became a prize to be grasped at by the various parties which struggled for supremacy in Italy, and the ambitious nobles who had risen to power in Rome. Repeatedly a possessor of the papal dignity was driven from his throne, or even put to death, by his successor or by some secular prince. In the year 904 the party of Adelbert of Tuscany gained possession of Rome, and with it of the patronage of the Papacy. Then began what is sometimes called the reign of the Worthless Women. For sixty years three Roman ladies, Theodora and her two daughters, Theodora the younger and Marozia, exercised almost supreme power in the Eternal City, and bestowed the Papacy upon their lovers and their sons. It was perhaps a dim memory of this "monstrous regimen

of women" that gave rise in after times to the fable that a woman, Joan, had once reached the papal dignity. During these sixty years no less than twelve popes occupied the papal throne, a very sufficient proof that their reigns were in some cases cut short by unlawful means. These popes were generally unworthy persons, but of one of them, John X. (914–928), it ought to be remembered that, in alliance with some of the princes of Southern Italy, he drove the Saracens from Garigliano, where they had established themselves. He also recognized the right of kings to appoint bishops, wishing probably to obtain for the bishops the protection of the kings against the hereditary dukes who often opposed them.

The misrule in Rome was brought to an end, for a time at least, by Otto, who in 963 deposed the infamous pope John XII., and caused to be elected in his stead a respectable layman, who took the name of Leo VIII. The Constitution attributed to this pope, which confers on the emperors the power of nominating not only their own successors, but also the popes, is in all probability not genuine. He died, however, in the year 965, and after his death the Tuscan party, led by the senator Crescentius, son of the younger Theodora, came again into power. Otto III. caused Crescentius to be executed, and procured the election of two popes of much higher character than their immediate predecessors—Gregory V. (996—999) and the learned Gerbert (Sylvester II., 999—1003), a defender of the rights of bishops against the encroachments of the Roman see; but after his death (1003) the old chaos came again. In the year 1033 a lad of twelve years old (Benedict IX.) was placed on the papal throne, which he stained with all manner of vice. This young gentleman, when driven out by an anti-pope, Sylvester III., in 1044, sold his

office to a better man than himself, Gregory VI., but afterwards repudiated his bargain. There were thus at one time three popes in the field, and affairs in Rome fell into a most deplorable confusion. To put an end to it the emperor, Henry III., came to Rome, and in a synod held at Sutri (1046) caused all three popes to be deposed, and Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, to be elected pope (Clement II., 1046–47). From this point begins a new era in the history of the Papacy and of the Church at large.

In the middle of the eleventh century causes which had been long at work brought about the separation of the Roman from the Greek Church. There were no very important dogmatic differences between them. Practically, the Eastern Church had never received the doctrine of original sin in the form which it had assumed under the influence of St. Augustine, but it was not made a subject of dissension or negotiation between the Churches. The present difference arose over the Constantinopolitan (our "Nicene") Creed. Here the Greeks accused the Latins of having interpolated the words "and the Son" into the clause relating to the Holy Spirit, so that it ran "proceeding from the Father and the Son," instead of, as in the original form, "proceeding from the Father." There were also ceremonial differences which were perhaps to the uninstructed of even greater importance. The Greek patriarch, Michael Cœrularius, accused the Latins of Judaizing in their use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, for the Greeks held that bread made with leaven and salt was absolutely essential; and also in their sabbatic observances. He further reproached them with eating things strangled, contrary to the Jewish precept and to the compromise of the Apostles at Jerusalem. Attempts were made at reconciliation, which rather tended to increase the

mutual exasperation. Michael, supported by his clergy and his people, remained unmoved, and at last (July 16, 1054) the legates of Pope Leo IX. deposited on the altar of St. Sophia a decree of excommunication against him, to which the patriarch at once replied by excommunicating the Pope. The other Oriental patriarchs sided with their brother of Constantinople, and so the Christian Church of the East separated from that of the West, and remains to this day divided. The immediate causes of the separation may seem inadequate, but in fact for many generations East and West had been drifting apart. The unity of the ecclesiastical organization was weakened by the division of the empire, and in the domain of dogma we see that the West had never fully understood the subtleties of the East, nor the East the legalism of the West. The events of 1054 were but the consummation of a movement of long duration.

In the period with which we are concerned the Church adapted architecture to its own purposes. It inherited from the Roman Empire the round arch, the vault, and the dome, which it employed in the buildings reared for the assemblies of the faithful. The pagan temple, intended mainly to furnish a place for the statue of a deity, could not furnish a model for the meeting places of large numbers, but an excellent example of the building required was found in the basilica, the court-house and general place of assembly, which existed in every Roman town. This generally consisted—to use the Christian terms—of a nave terminating in an apse, and two aisles, an arrangement followed in the great majority of Christian churches, though modified and developed to meet the requirements of Christian worship. As the style of these churches followed Roman models,

it is generally called in the West, Romanesque, while that which was formed from similar elements in the East is called Byzantine, as prevailing chiefly within the dominions of the Byzantine Empire. Many specimens of the architecture of this period are still extant. The use of the dome during this period is almost confined to the East. Baptisteries were generally built in a round or polygonal form.

At the end of the tenth century some regions of Europe still remained to be Christianized. It was not until the reign of Cnut the Great (1014—1035) that Christianity was recognized as the national religion of Denmark. From Denmark Ansgar carried on his work into Sweden ; in 1008 the Swedish king Olaf was baptized, and his sucessors followed him in the faith, but it was not until the year 1075 that heathenism in Sweden was finally subdued. Under the kings Olaf Trygwason (995—1000) and St. Olaf (1017—1033) the faith of Christ acquired a firm footing in Norway. About the same time the islands subject to Norway—the Shetlands, the Orkneys, and Iceland—received Christianity, which from Iceland spread to Greenland.

The Wends, between the Saale and the Oder, divided as they were into several tribes, made a vigorous stand against the Germans. The emperor Otto I. attempted to impose Christianity upon them by the might of the sword, but in 983, under their chief Wistewoi, they threw off both Christianity and the German yoke. His grandson Gottschalk, who first united the tribes into one kingdom (1047), was put to death in the midst of his attempt to reintroduce Christianity (1066), the old pagan altars were raised again and Christianity swept away.

CHAPTER IV

CULMINATION OF THE POWER OF THE PAPACY

In the eleventh century Christianity, in the form which it had assumed under Latin influence, had diffused itself through the whole life of the Western nations. The Church was everywhere powerful, and its doctrine, with trifling exceptions, was everywhere received. The ideas which dominated the Middle Ages were in the air, but they had not yet assumed a definite and concrete form. The first of the questions which called for solution was that of the relation of the Church to the State and to civic life.

A contest on this point was absolutely inevitable. The Church was not content to rule over men who of their own free will accepted her authority, and submitted to it as a matter of conscience; she claimed legislative and judicial authority over all men, and this with the tremendous sanction that transgressors might be sentenced by a priest, or at any rate in the last resort by the Pope, to exclusion from the kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the priesthood itself was composed of citizens of some state, who were bound in secular matters to render obedience to the law of the land. Moreover, notwithstanding the power of excommunication

which the Church wielded, she was often compelled to invoke the civil power to carry out her sentences. Now, as every act may be regarded as religious or secular, no clear and precise boundary-line could be drawn between the jurisdiction of the Church and that of the State. In consequence, perpetual complaints arose from both sides that their privileges were infringed. But in all contests of this kind the Church had an immense advantage. Every one in the time of which we speak recognized in her a power which in spiritual matters was above all secular princes, and who was to set limits to the Church's conception of what was spiritual? The good of souls was the end proclaimed even by the most worldly churchmen, and to the measures which the Church thought proper to take for the good of souls secular laws must yield. Moreover, the Church, united and powerful, was opposed to kingdoms divided and hostile, often rising and falling as their rulers chanced to be wise and energetic or feeble and foolish. The policy of the Church was thus much more steadily pursued from age to age than that of any state. Nor can it be doubted that for the time the position assumed by the Church was beneficial. The age required a spiritual power, the might and prestige of which were visible to all, to raise it above mere selfish and material aims.

The Church found herself hampered in two points in particular in her struggle for universal dominion. On the one hand, bishops and abbots were liege-men of the secular princes, in Germany of the emperor, by whom they were admitted to office by the symbolical act of delivering to them the episcopal ring and the pastoral staff—an act which is commonly known as "investiture." Without this the bishop or abbot could not enter into possession of

the temporal goods and privileges attached to his office, and as the crown might withhold it, the Church was so far not free to appoint her own officers. As fees were generally paid on investiture, it was stigmatized as simony. On the other hand, ecclesiastics in many cases led a life not very different from that of laymen. The laws against the marriage of the clergy were often disregarded; a man with a family about him was inevitably involved in the ordinary social ties and duties, and was constantly tempted to provide for his children by alienating the property of the Church. Earnest rulers of the Church desired to free her from secular claims, and to make the clergy more entirely her servants.

The great leader of the Church in this contest was Hildebrand, an Italian born at Saona in Tuscany—one of those rare men who by extraordinary ability and force of will, by the instinct for ruling and absolute devotion to some object to be attained, are capable of guiding the thoughts and desires of an age. When in the year 1048 Bruno of Toul ascended the papal throne as Leo IX., he brought with him Hildebrand, who—though but a young monk—became thenceforth the guiding spirit of the Papacy. Leo and his successors, Victor II. (1055—1057), Stephen IX. (d. 1058), Nicholas II. (d. 1061), Alexander II. (d. 1073), all felt the ascendency of his commanding personality. Leo and Victor began the attack on simony and the marriage of the clergy, but public opinion did not yet sufficiently support them, and as the imperial throne was occupied by so vigorous a ruler as Henry III., they had to rest content with the condemnation of the objectionable practices in various synods, and the excommunication of special offenders among the bishops. Hildebrand had even to permit the emperor formally to nominate those

popes who were in fact his own creatures. Under Nicholas II., however, the manner of election of the popes was changed. From the time of Constantine the bishops of Rome had been elected nominally by the clergy and people of Rome, but great scandals had often attended the elections, and the sovereign of the Roman territory had always exercised a dominant influence, accepted as lawful by the Church herself. Nicholas II., in a synod at which no German bishop was present (April 13, 1059), published a decree depriving the clergy and people of Rome of their ancient right of choosing their bishop, and committing the election to the cardinals,[1] in such a form as to give a decided predominance to the cardinal-bishops —the bishops, that is, of the seven suburbicarian sees. In this way the Roman nobles were deprived of the power of direct interference in papal elections which they had so grossly abused, and the rights which the emperors had enjoyed, though not without interruption, for some two hundred years, were reduced—according to the generally accepted version of the Decree—to a mere formal communication to them of the result of the election. The German bishops, led by Anno of Cologne, protested against this decree, and, so far as in them lay, deposed Nicholas.

In the same year (1059) the Papacy gained a powerful protector in the famous Norman, Robert Guiscard, who acknowledged that he held of the Pope the con-

[1] The word "cardinalis" designated originally no more than an incumbent who has (to use the English term) a benefice as a freehold, in contrast to one who is removable at pleasure. Such incumbents of the Roman churches, together with the seven deacons of the "regions" of Rome, and the bishops of Ostia, Porto, Rufino, Frascati, Sabina, Palestrina, and Albano, formed the electoral college to which the Decree of Nicholas II. entrusted the election of the popes.

quered provinces of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, and did homage for them to him as over-lord.

It was probably the support of the Normans which encouraged Hildebrand, who himself became Pope, with the title of Gregory VII., in 1073, to enter on his great contest with the princes of this world and the worldly clergy. The claim which he made to be superior to all earthly rulers and kingdoms went far beyond anything previously heard of. He claimed to be in all respects the successor of St. Peter, to whom (he says) the Lord gave authority over all the kingdoms of the earth; it was meet therefore for the secular princes to kiss the feet of the Pope. It followed that he could depose kings and even emperors, and could absolve subjects from their allegiance to a prince whom he judged unworthy to rule. His decisions can be over-ruled by no power, though they may be varied by himself; for he is head of the Roman Church, which has never erred, nor can err. Hildebrand held investiture by a lay prince (see p. 49) to be derogatory to the rights of the Church. The property of the Church (he affirmed) belonged to the Church absolutely, without any obligation to a secular power. It rested with the see of Rome to dispose of the property of the Church of whatever kind, without any regard to the claims of princes. In fact, Hildebrand aimed at becoming over-lord of the whole earth.

His series of reforms began in the year following his accession to the Papacy. At a synod in Rome (1074), all who had obtained a spiritual office by a payment of money, and all married priests, were declared to be deprived of their several offices, and the people were warned not to attend services celebrated by such priests, for attendance at them was no less than an act of idolatry. In the next year, 1075, in a

Roman synod, every bishop and abbot who had received his office at the hands of a lay person was placed under the ban of excommunication, and the same penalty was laid upon any emperor, king, or other potentate who had conferred investiture. As the emperor, Henry IV., still retained about his person certain ministers who had been excommunicated by the Pope as guilty of simony, and disposed of the sees of Milan, Fermo, and Spoleto by his own authority, Gregory summoned him, under pain of excommunication, to appear before a synod at Rome in the following Lent. In the early part of 1076 Henry had still influence enough to procure the deposition of the Pope by synods held at Worms, Piacenza, and Pavia; but in October of the same year, the nobles and bishops assembled in a Diet at Tribur gave the king to understand, that unless he procured the revocation of the ban under which he lay before February 22 in the following year, they would cease to regard him as their sovereign. Henry thereupon determined to procure, if possible, the revocation of his sentence. He crossed the Alps by the Mont Cenis pass, with great difficulty, in the midst of the snows and frost of a very hard winter, and presented himself before the Pope at Canossa, a rock-fortress on a spur of the Apennines, where he had taken refuge. There, after waiting for three days (Jan. 25—27, 1077), bare-footed and bare-headed in the piercing cold, before the gate, he was admitted to absolution. It was impossible that a man of spirit could submit to this humiliation without some attempt at revenge. Henry had still many friends, and it was only when he seemed to be worsted by the rival king who had been set up against him, that Gregory, audacious as he was, ventured to renew the excommunication (March 7, 1080). Even then he had to

discover that he had been over-hasty. Henry, after a struggle, regained sufficient power to set up an anti-pope, Clement III., to invade Italy, to gain possession of Rome, and to besiege Gregory, who was by no means popular in his own city, in the castle of St. Angelo (1084). Gregory was released by Robert Guiscard and his Normans (who savagely plundered the city), and retired to Salerno, where in the following year he died (May 25, 1085), saying that he had loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and so died in exile. As was natural, legends soon arose of miracles wrought at his tomb. It might seem that he had failed in the great work of his life, but in fact the seeds which he had sown were to produce much fruit after his death.

Over Hildebrand's successors, Victor III. and Urban II. (1086–1089), Henry for some time retained his superiority; but this state of things was brought to an end by a new movement, the Crusades.

Silvester II. had a vision, never realized, of a union of the Christian world against the Moslem. Hildebrand in 1074 had seen the necessity of opposing the encroachments of Mohammedanism in Europe, and even more the terrible Ottoman Turks in Asia Minor. But no step was really taken until, in a council at Clermont, Pope Urban so stirred the minds of those who were present by his eloquent picture of the miseries endured by Christians in the East, that it was decided (Nov. 26, 1095) to wage a holy war against the infidels who polluted by their presence the sacred places trodden by the Son of God. The undisciplined multitude which followed Peter the Hermit soon melted away; the more regular expedition which followed, after terrible hardships, took Jerusalem by storm (July 15, 1099), and the Christian army marched through fire and blood to the Church

of the Resurrection. Godfrey of Bouillon, a hero of romance, was made king of Jerusalem, and Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre. On his death in 1100 he was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, who died in 1118.

But in Europe also the effects of the crusading movement were felt. Urban's advocacy of the holy war gave him so great an influence that he could count on the support of the crusading armies. The Pope of the imperialists, Clement III., fled before Urban when he entered Rome at the head of a band of crusaders and was heard of no more. Henry was again excommunicated by Urban's successor, Paschal II. (1102), his own son rose against him, and he died in 1106 with hardly a territory to own his sway. Paschal was by no means a Hildebrand, and Henry V. held his own against papal claims more successfully than his father had done. The dispute about investiture was at last put an end to by the concordat agreed upon at Worms (Sept. 23, 1122) between Henry and Paschal's successor, Calixtus II. By this the emperor renounced his claim to give investiture by ring and staff, which were symbols of spiritual office, and also the privilege which his predecessors had so long enjoyed of nominating bishops and abbots. For the investiture was substituted the bestowal of the temporalities belonging to an ecclesiastical office—fiefs, privileges of lordship, rights of coining, of holding markets, of levying duties, and the like—by the touch of the sceptre. The right of being present at the election of a bishop, and of deciding in case of a dispute, was conceded to the emperor in Germany only. It is to be observed, that it was not until the thirteenth century that the election of a bishop became the privilege of the cathedral chapter alone; in the twelfth, the feudal tenants of the episcopal

estates and the magnates of the diocese claimed to take part in it. On the other side, the Papacy receded somewhat from the position of Hildebrand, in that it permitted persons appointed to spiritual office to take the oath of allegiance to their temporal sovereign. It was only in Germany, however, that the oath was to be taken *before* consecration, elsewhere it was to be taken within six months *after* consecration, and so could not be made a condition precedent. The Pope was henceforward to bestow the ring and staff, a privilege which up to this time he had never exercised in Germany. The Church had in this gained a decisive victory; but the Concordat of Worms was not the end of the struggle for supremacy between Pope and Emperor.

But to some of the secular powers the Papacy had to make concessions. Even Hildebrand himself did not think it prudent to carry out the threats which he had made against Philip I. of France for his simony, and had to acquiesce in Roger Guiscard's seizure of a portion of the papal territory. Urban II., finding himself unable to make good his claims, handed over the ecclesiastical supremacy in Sicily to Count Roger by making him papal legate (1098), so as at any rate to save the appearance of superiority over him. William the Conqueror of England was also intractable. Homage was exacted from bishop as from baron. No excommunication could be issued without the king's licence. No synod could legislate without his previous assent and subsequent confirmation of its decrees. No papal letters could be received within the realm save by his permission. William was indeed the one ruler of his time who dared firmly to repudiate the claims which were now beginning to be put forward by the court of Rome. When Gregory VII. called upon him to do fealty for his realm,

the king sternly refused to admit the claim. "Fealty I have never willed to do, nor do I will to do it now. I have never promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors did it to yours." With Henry I., Paschal II. came to a compromise (1107), permitting prelates to do homage to the king, but not to receive investiture from him by ring and staff.

Nor were the canons against the marriage of the clergy at once everywhere enforced. In England, even under Hildebrand, only canons, not ordinary parish priests, were compelled to put away their wives, though deacons and priests were henceforth not to be ordained unless they declared that they were unmarried (Council of Winchester, 1076), but in the twelfth century the marriage of priests, though uncanonical, was still common. In Spain it was still frequent in the early part of the twelfth century; in Denmark and Scandinavia, in Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, in the thirteenth. Even in Germany it occurs as late as the year 1220.

The papal policy as to investiture and the marriage of the clergy was thus imperfectly carried out. Still, there can be no doubt that the Church gained signal advantage in the great struggles of the Hildebrandine age. The doctrines of the unlimited power of the Pope over the Church; of the infallibility of the Roman Church—that is, of the Pope; of the right of the Pope to summon kings and emperors before his tribunal, to depose them and to release their subjects from their oath of allegiance;—such doctrines as these were not merely proclaimed but enforced against some of the most powerful princes of Christendom. They took root in the minds of men. And the Papacy steadily pursued its great aims, that of freeing the Church from the power of the State, and that of making its servants a class apart, clear, so far as

might be, of the social ties by which other men are bound. In most cases the Pope failed in his endeavour to make the princes of Europe his feudatories. Still, even under Nicholas II. the papal statecraft had its triumphs over the Normans in Southern Italy; Gregory was acknowledged as over-lord by the kings of Dalmatia; and even the emperor Lothair II. consented (1130) to accept the lands of the Countess Matilda as a fief from Innocent II. Nay, the imperial dignity itself could be represented by a papal partisan as having been bestowed by the successor of St. Peter.

A new act in the great drama of European history began after the extinction of the Frankish imperial family. In 1138 the great Swabian house of Hohenstaufen came into prominence. The first Swabian king, Conrad III., never became emperor. In his day arose the party-names of Welf and Waibling, which the Italians transformed into Guelf and Ghibelin. The Ghibelins were adherents of the emperor; the Guelfs (called after Welf of Saxony, who had rebelled against Conrad) followed the Pope. After the fall of Edessa in 1144, a new Crusade (the second, 1147–1149) was undertaken, under the urgent pressure of St. Bernard and Pope Eugenius III., by Conrad and Lewis VII. of France, which was, however, entirely unsuccessful. Conrad's great successor, Frederic I., called Barbarossa (Red-beard), devoted himself during his long reign (1152—1190) to restoring the dignity and power of the emperor, and his son Henry VI., who was king not only of Germany, but of Lombardy and Sicily, followed in his footsteps during the few years of his reign (1190–1197). But many circumstances favoured the Papacy in its struggle with the empire. The emperor was embarrassed by the cumbrous constitution of the

empire, the hostility of many German princes to the imperial house, and the efforts of the Lombard cities to gain their freedom. The Papacy was persistent and politic, and supported generally by the great army of the clergy, then at the height of their power, in all parts of Europe. In the end it succeeded in gaining most of the objects for which it strove.

In 1145 the Papacy was seriously shaken by a popular rising in Rome itself under Arnold of Brescia, who wished to restore primitive Christianity and the ancient republic. This was, however, put down with the help of the Germans.

Pope Hadrian IV. (1154—1159), a resolute Englishman (Nicholas Breakspear), well known in English history for his grant of Ireland to Henry II., maintained the principles of Hildebrand, and in consequence quarrelled with Frederick I. The causes of dissension were many, but in particular the Pope was thought to claim (1157) to be the feudal lord of the empire and to confer it as a fief, a claim which was hotly resented, not only by the lay princes, but also by the bishops of Germany. Frederick, on his part, asserted the claims of the emperor in such a way as to offend the papal party (1158), and Hadrian was on the point of launching an excommunication against him when he died. Under his successor, Alexander III. (1158—1181) (against whom an imperialist pope, Victor IV., was set up), open war broke out between pope and emperor. The Lombard cities, exasperated by the oppression practised by the imperial officials, fought vigorously against the emperor, who after his defeat at Legnano (1176) found it expedient to come to terms with the Pope, and detach him from his alliance with the Lombards. This he did by making concessions which were embodied in a treaty of peace at Venice in 1177. In this Frederick suffered some humiliation, but on

the whole he maintained the dignity of the imperial crown with great ability and resolution.

In the year 1187 the famous sultan of Egypt, Saladin, took Jerusalem, and put an end to the Christian kingdom there. For its restoration a new Crusade (the third) was undertaken (1189), but Frederick, who led the imperial troops, was drowned (June 10, 1190) in a stream in Pisidia, and his host melted away from famine and disease. Dissensions arose between Philip Augustus and Richard Lion-heart, who led the armies of France and England, but Richard did nevertheless make a treaty with Saladin (1192), which permitted pilgrims to visit Jerusalem unhindered and untaxed, which was all that had been claimed by the first Crusaders.

Frederick's son, Henry VI., was even more opposed to the claims of the Papacy than his father had been. The popes of his time, Clement III. (1187—1191) and Celestine III. (1191—1198), endeavoured, without success, to prevent his coming into possession of the kingdom of Sicily, which the Pope claimed as a fief. Henry became king of Sicily in 1194, and seized almost the whole of the papal territory up to the gates of Rome. He also forbade appeals to Rome as sternly as his namesake Henry VIII. of England did some centuries later. In 1197, however, his wide-reaching plans for reforming the constitution of the German empire, and his designs on the Greek empire, were brought to an end by his sudden death. He left a son three years old, who some years later became the emperor Frederick II.

While these events took place on the Continent, a war between Church and king was carried on in England. The death of Henry I. was followed by the anarchy of Stephen, during which the authorities of the Church did what was right in their own eyes.

He was succeeded by Henry II., a vigorous ruler, bent upon restoring order and good government throughout the kingdom, with scant respect for traditions whether of Church or State. In his proceedings with regard to the Church, Henry looked for the help of his ex-chancellor Thomas Becket, who had been made, by his influence, Archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1162. In this he was grievously disappointed. The king proposed to the bishops that a clerk who was convicted of a crime should be deprived of his orders and handed over to the king's tribunals. The bishops yielded, but Becket did not. To him the ecclesiastical immunities were part of the sacred heritage of the Church. He stood alone; even the Pope advised concession; and he at last accepted the Constitutions which Henry presented to the Council of Clarendon (1164), in the main a re-enactment of the system established by the Conqueror. The king's proposal as to the punishment of criminous clerks was confirmed; a bishop could not be elected without the king's consent; he was to do homage to the king before consecration, and to hold his lands as a fief from the king, subject to all feudal burdens. An appeal lay from the archbishop's court to the king's, and the king's court was to decide whether a suit belonged to the Church courts or to the king's. To these provisions the Primate set his seal, but soon repented, and obtained from the Pope a dispensation setting him free from his engagement. The king's rage was furious, and Becket fled to France. At last, the threat of papal interposition forced Henry to a show of submission. A reconciliation was arranged between him and Becket, and in 1170 the Primate, in the midst of loud cries of welcome, re-entered Canterbury. He was not, however, to abide there long. In

the same year four knights, instigated by some hasty words which the king had used in a rage, murdered the archbishop in his own cathedral (Dec. 29, 1170). This horrible sacrilege caused a thrill of horror throughout Europe. Thomas of Canterbury was canonized four years after his death, and became the most popular mediæval saint in England. Henry hastened to assure the Pope that he had no intention of causing the death of Thomas, and this he affirmed on oath before the papal legates at Avranches. He also promised to give up the Constitutions of Clarendon, and to take Alexander's part against the emperor. The results of the struggle, however, were not wholly unfavourable to the king. He had no further trouble with the Church, and the abolition of the Constitutions was little more than nominal. His courts were able, in fact, to maintain the authority which was claimed for them at Clarendon.

When Innocent III. ascended the papal throne (Jan. 8, 1198) he found no great power in a condition to oppose him. Never was there a season more favourable to the aggrandizement of the Pope, for there never was a season in which a great central power was more desired throughout Christendom. Wherever he turned his eyes he saw disorder and weakness; rulers oppressing their subjects and subjects in arms against their rulers. In almost every country was a party ready to invoke his patronage or his protection. Nor did Innocent, who became Supreme Pontiff while he was still in the vigour of manhood, shrink from the task which lay before him. His correspondence shows his fearlessness and constant activity. He felt that it was for him to place and displace monarchs. Nay, he did not hesitate to assert, with an accent of full conviction, that he was no mere man, but the vicegerent upon earth of the true God.

The heir to the throne of Naples and Sicily was a child, Frederick son of Henry VI. His natural guardian, his mother, consented to do fealty to the Pope for these dominions, and when she died, in the year of Innocent's accession (Nov. 1198), she entrusted her young son to his guardianship. The boy was brought up principally in Palermo, where he learned to distrust both the Papalists and their opponents, and where, it was thought, his intercourse with cultivated Saracens taught him a toleration of various forms of religion which was in that age almost unknown.

At Innocent's accession, the Italian territory claimed by the Pope, except the city of Rome itself and its immediate neighbourhood, was in the possession of German rulers, who professed allegiance to the emperor. These, after a hard struggle, he drove out.

Germany was divided and weakened by a contest for the imperial crown between Philip of Swabia and Otto of Saxony. The Pope claimed the right to decide in the case of a doubtful election, and after some hesitation gave judgment (1201) in favour of Otto. This was, however, very far from putting an end to the struggle, and Philip gained considerable advantages over his opponent. Philip was, however, assassinated in 1208, and Otto, now left without a rival, was crowned as emperor by Innocent, Sept. 27, 1209.

The Pope expected to find in Otto a subservient sovereign; but no sooner was the crown placed on his head than he set himself to assert the claims of the empire in Italy, undeterred by the sentence of excommunication and deposition which the astonished Pope launched against him. Innocent now favoured the candidature of the one remaining scion of the

house of Hohenstaufen. Frederick, the son of Henry VI., made his appearance in Germany (1212), and with the support of the Pope and the king of France, gained the adherence of a majority of the electors. On July 25, 1215, he received at Aachen the crown of the German kingdom, and Otto (d. 1218) had to content himself with his hereditary duchy of Brunswick.

In many kingdoms the Pope made his power felt. Philip Augustus, king of France, was compelled (1201) to take back the wife whom he had repudiated; while Alphonso IX., king of Leon, was obliged to put away his on account of her too near kindred. Sancho I., king of Portugal, had to render the tribute which he had refused, and Peter, king of Aragon, at his coronation agreed to make his realm tributary to Rome. John, prince of Bulgaria, begged Innocent to bestow upon him the kingly crown. But perhaps none of the great Pope's achievements was more remarkable than his humiliation of King John of England, who remains, in spite of his remarkable courage and ability, the most despised of English sovereigns.

In the year 1206 a disputed election to the see of Canterbury occasioned an appeal to Rome, when Innocent caused the monks of Canterbury who had come to Rome on this business to elect as their archbishop his friend Stephen Langton, a man unquestionably wise and good, whom he himself consecrated at Viterbo (June 1207). John angrily refused to receive him, and Innocent placed the kingdom under an interdict (March 23, 1208), the effect of which was to deprive it of almost all the services of the Church. In the following year the king himself was excommunicated, but did not quail. At last (1212) the Pope declared him deposed, and committed the execu-

tion of the sentence to Philip of France. Even this did not terrify the king, but internal troubles compelled him to submit. He was reconciled to the Church, received Archbishop Langton, and did homage for his kingdom to the Pope, engaging to pay him annually 1000 marks (1213). This submission caused shame and indignation throughout the kingdom. Two years later, the barons, under the guidance of Stephen Langton, compelled the king to make a great concession to the rights of his subjects in the Great Charter, signed at Runnymede, June 15, 1215, in which he granted freedom of election to episcopal sees and headships of religious houses. Innocent disallowed it, excommunicated John's enemies, and suspended Archbishop Langton. It remained, however, unrepealed, and with the death of John in 1216 the whole state of things changed. England and the boy-king Henry III. came under the authority of a true patriot, William the Earl-Marshal, and England did not become a fief of Rome.

Meantime, other important events had taken place. Innocent revived the dying enthusiasm for the recovery of the Holy Land, and in 1202 a great host of Crusaders assembled at Venice, the fourth Crusade. The Doge, Dandolo, had, however, the address to turn their arms against Constantinople, which was taken on April 12, 1204, and a Latin dynasty, beginning with Baldwin of Flanders, was placed on the Imperial throne. It had, however, a precarious existence of no more than sixty years, and with its fall came to an end any hope that may have been entertained of extending the sway of the Roman see over the Church of the East.

Innocent III. attained the zenith of his power in 1215, when he called and presided over the fourth Lateran Council (reckoned the twelfth Œcumenical).

In this council the theory, already very commonly held, that in the sacrament of the altar the Body and Blood of Christ verily exist under the "species" or outward appearance of bread and wine, became a doctrine of the Church; and auricular confession, at least once a year, was made compulsory to all the faithful.

Innocent died in 1216, but his spirit continued to rule the Church. How great was now the power of the popes appeared in their contests with the emperor. Frederick II., Innocent's ward, received the Imperial crown in 1215. Probably that crown was never placed on the head of an abler man. But, great as was his personal influence and courage, he was no match for Gregory IX. (1227—1241), an inferior man, but firm in the assertion of his rights. After long pressure from the Pope, Frederick undertook (1228) a fifth Crusade, in which, without striking a blow, he obtained by treaty from the Sultan the possession of Jerusalem and the holy places, and a truce for ten years. This success, however, by no means appeased the Pope, who perhaps thought the liberal minded emperor too friendly with the infidel. The strife between them continued; and when Innocent IV. (1243—1254), backed by the Council of Lyons (1245), pressed on the conflict with all the power of the spiritual arm, he was compelled to make proposals which conceded all that the Pope could fairly claim. Even this, however, did not put an end to the quarrel, and when Frederick died (December 13, 1250), harassed to death, he was still unsubdued, though not victorious. His son Conrad maintained with great spirit the rights of the Hohenstaufen family against the papal nominee, but an early death (1254) cut short his career. His half-brother, Manfred, who became (1258) king of Sicily, was deprived of crown

and life by Charles of Anjou, to whom the Pope had granted his kingdom (1266); and the last scion of the great house of Hohenstaufen, Conradin, ended his sorrowful life on the scaffold (October 29, 1268).

We may mention here the last of the Crusades. In 1244 Jerusalem again fell into pagan hands. For its recovery Lewis IX. of France (St. Lewis) headed an expedition (1249) against Egypt, which was now regarded as the key of the Holy Land. This resulted in utter failure. Lewis himself was taken prisoner, and only obtained his liberty on payment of a heavy ransom. This is generally called the sixth Crusade. There was yet another, the seventh. This was also undertaken by St. Lewis, but he died at Tunis (1270), when Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I.) of England gathered round him an army of valiant men who were willing to fight for the Cross, and marched for Palestine, but nothing was accomplished. In 1272 Edward returned to England, the last of the Crusaders.

The Crusades may perhaps seem at first sight to have had no result but an enormous sacrifice of human life. This was, however, by no means the case; they greatly influenced the social development of Europe. In them men learned that the Mohammedans against whom they fought were neither monsters nor idolaters; even a kind of sympathy with them was possible. A freedom of thought was introduced of which Europe had not before dreamed. And those who had been in Palestine were struck by the luxuries and comparative refinement of the East; the desire for exotic wares occasioned a more active commerce between East and West, and this again caused the rise of great and powerful cities, the early homes of liberty.

In the middle of the thirteenth century the Church

attained its highest pitch of authority. The clergy, richly endowed, free from state imposts and from the jurisdiction of civil courts, believed to hold the keys of the kingdom of heaven, were everywhere an almost irresistible power. And to the secular clergy was added a great and well-disciplined army of monks and friars. To the original Benedictine new Orders had been added, too numerous to be mentioned in detail. The principal were the following :—

The Cluniac Order, which took its rise from the reforms instituted in the abbey of Clugny (910) by its abbot Berno, was extended and made more famous by his successor Odo (927–941). The Cluniac abbeys, being connected in a union of the several houses under the presidency of the abbot of Clugny, formed the first instance of a monastic "Congregation." Somewhat later, a movement for monastic reform arose in Italy, when Romuald (1018) founded the Order of the Camaldolese, and Gualbert (1038) that of Vallombrosa. In Germany, William, abbot of Hirschau, founded (1069) the congregation of Hirschau after the model of that of Clugny.

In 1073, with the sanction of Gregory VII., Stephen of Tigerno founded the Order which after his death was transferred to Grandmont in Auvergne, from which it derives its name. The famous Order of Carthusians takes its rise from Bruno of Cologne, who in 1086 brought together a hermit community—the brethren living in separate dwellings—at La Chartreuse, near Grenoble. The rule of almost absolute silence was introduced by abbat Guigo (1137). That of the equally famous Cistercians was founded by Robert of Molesme at Citeaux (Cistercium), but the organization of the congregation is due mainly to his successor Alberic (d. 1109). St. Bernard entered the abbey of Citeaux in 1113, but became

himself in 1115 abbot of the newly-founded monastery of Clairvaux, and may be considered a second founder of the Order, which spread with extraordinary rapidity, and soon overshadowed that of Clugny. The Premonstratensian Order was founded by Norbert of Xanten (1120), at the village of Premontré in the diocese of Laon.

The Crusades brought into being a new kind of monasticism, that of knights bound by vows similar to those of monks. In 1118 Hugh of Payens and Godfrey of St. Omer founded the Order of "Poor Fellow-soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon," whom we commonly know as the Knights Templar; and about 1130 the society of the "Brothers of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem" (founded in 1099) was transformed into a military Order, that of the Knights of St. John or Hospitallers. During the siege of Ptolemaïs in 1190 certain citizens of Bremen and Lübeck founded a hospital, from which sprang, by the help of Duke Frederick of Swabia, the "Knights of the Teutonic Hospital of St. Mary the Virgin of Jerusalem," commonly called the Knights of the Teutonic Order, destined afterwards to enlarge the bounds of the Church in North-east Europe.

The thirteenth century produced a new kind of brotherhood, which exercised an immense influence on the development of the Church—the Mendicant Orders.

It was in the year 1209 that Francis of Assisi was struck to the heart by hearing the gospel narrative of the Lord sending forth His disciples without gold or silver in their purses to bring in the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Here was, he thought, the ideal of a society which should convert the world. The leading thought of his first rule (1209) is, the

following of Christ in His life of poverty. "The rule and life of the brethren," he says, "is this: to live in obedience, in chastity, and without personal possessions; and to follow the teaching and the footsteps of our Lord Jesus Christ, who said, If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." He thus regarded living on the alms of the faithful as a part of the following of Christ, but he was no friend of idleness. He willed that the brethren should labour, and it seems to have been only when the fruit of their labour was insufficient that he sanctioned their begging from door to door. St. Francis was a mystic, but not one of those who place raptures above ordinances, for he set the highest value on the Church and its means of grace, especially on the sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood. He called his brethren the Lesser Brethren, "Fratres Minores," in contrast with the great monastic Orders already existing, whence they came to be known as Minorites. The name "Franciscan" was of course not conferred by St. Francis himself. In England they were known as Grey Friars, from the colour of their habit.

The brethren were to go forth to preach repentance of sin and reconciliation to God as the first disciples did. As early as 1216 enthusiastic Franciscans are found preaching to the Mohammedans; St. Francis himself was among the Crusaders in Egypt. After his return, the Order received the formal sanction of Pope Honorius III. (September 22, 1220); and in 1223 the second rule, in which there are many modifications of the enthusiasm of the first, was issued under the authority of a papal Bull. St. Francis died in the church of the Portiuncula at Assisi, October 4, 1226. Venerated in his lifetime, he was canonized shortly after his death by Gregory IX.

(1228), who followed in this the voice of the Church. Probably no saint of the Middle Ages has left so sweet a memory as St. Francis of Assisi.

No man could be more unlike the genial St. Francis than the learned and dignified Spaniard Domingo Guzman, who in 1204 was sent to convert the heretics in the south of France. To this end he drew about him a band of men like-minded, but it was not until the year 1216 that the Pope (Honorius III.) recognized them as an Order, under the name of the "Preaching Brothers of St. Romanus of Toulouse," and gave them permission to preach and hear confessions everywhere. They came to be generally known as Dominicans, in England as Black Friars, in France as Jacobins, from their house in the Rue St. Jacques (S. Jacobi). In 1220, in imitation of the Franciscans, the Order renounced its property and became mendicant. St. Dominic was canonized in 1234; his Order spread with great rapidity, and has been through more than six centuries a vast influence. In spite of the renunciation of worldly wealth by the brothers, its communities have acquired stately churches and houses.

The Carmelite Order had its origin in a union of hermits about Mount Carmel, who in 1219 received a rule from Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem. When their position in the Holy Land became untenable they received, at their own request, from Innocent IV. the status and privileges of a Mendicant Order in the year 1247. The Austin Hermits also, a community first formed in Italy, were brought into the form of mendicants by Alexander IV. in 1250, and became known as Austin Friars.

Monks and friars, more than the secular clergy, were the servants and champions of the Papacy. They formed an army of which the Pope was commander-in-

chief, and their growing influence overshadowed that of the episcopate. The popes, no longer content to be the vicars of St. Peter, assumed to be the representatives on earth of God and Christ, and to decide on all questions relating to the faith and discipline of the Church with infallible authority. They stood above all courts of justice, and even asserted their independence of councils, which (they contended) they alone could summon. They alone could dispense with the observance of the laws and customs of the Church; they alone could relieve men from the obligation of an oath; they alone could canonize departed saints. They claimed to ratify the appointment of bishops throughout the Church, and required from them an oath of allegiance to themselves. They virtually superseded the authority of bishops, upon occasion, by legates sent directly from their side; they reviewed and reversed or modified their judgments; they judged, translated, or deposed the bishops themselves. They levied contributions on churches and monasteries, a practice for which the Crusades supplied a convenient pretext, and of the money so raised they gave no account. They even claimed a general right of appointment to all offices in the Church. These claims were of course subject to many limitations in practice, but the resolute and continued assertion of the theory of the papal power tended to familiarize men's minds with the thought of its supremacy, and so to make it more and more a reality.

It was under the influence of such institutions as these that the mediæval Church reached its highest point of power and splendour. It ruled every department of social life. The clergy, though their increased wealth and the celibate life led them too frequently into luxury and licentiousness, still rose far above the ignorance and disorder of previous

centuries. The practice of auricular confession for clergy and laity, while it no doubt encouraged the notion that the stain of sin could be wiped away by the mere word of a priest, still acted as a check upon men who felt hardly any other restraint.

Until the Mendicant Orders arose, preaching was rare and in many churches altogether unheard. The sacraments, which since the time of Peter Lombard (about 1160) had been reckoned as seven, were the nucleus of Christian worship, and among these the Eucharist was naturally the most prominent. It was everywhere celebrated with all attainable splendour of sight and sound, and held in the highest reverence. The language of public worship in the West was still Latin, which had now become to all but clerks an unknown tongue; and the strange words added to the impressiveness of the service. The nature of the change which took place in the elements on consecration was still in this period a matter of eager discussion. We have already seen (p. 36) how Ratramn opposed the materializing views of Radbert. In the spirit of Ratramn, Berengarius of Tours wrote to Lanfranc (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), urging the spiritual significance of the sacrament. Lanfranc denounced him at Rome, and his doctrines were condemned there, and afterwards by a council at Vercelli (1050). In France he found a friend in Hildebrand, present there as legate, who was satisfied with his declaration, that after consecration the bread and wine became the Body and Blood of Christ, without pressing for further definition. But at a council in Rome (1059) he was nevertheless compelled to recant, and to subscribe to the views of his opponents in their coarsest form. Between 1064 and 1069 the controversy was renewed, Berengarius contending that the words of

institution were to be taken in a figurative sense; that in the sacrament Christ was received only in a spiritual manner; that there was no objective change in the elements. In 1078 he was summoned to Rome, where at a synod (1079) he was compelled to recant, though Hildebrand, by this time pope, still seemed to wish to avoid exact definition of the mystery. He died in peace on the island of St. Cosme near Tours in 1088. The change which took place in the bread and wine on consecration was described by scholastic ingenuity as "transubstantiation"; the Body and Blood of Christ, that is, were held to be substituted for the impalpable "substance" which underlies and sustains the "accidents"—colour, taste, etc.—which are alone cognizable by the senses. A change of this kind could of course be neither proved nor refuted, so long as "substance" was regarded as something having objective existence, and not as a mere figment of the intellect. This conception of transubstantiation is found here and there from the beginning of the twelfth century; it was introduced by Peter Lombard into the current theology, and received formal sanction at the fourth Council of Lateran under Innocent III. (1215). But the great mass of believers of course never grasped the notion of an impalpable "substance"; for them in the Eucharist the bread became flesh and the wine blood, and this belief was strengthened by many stories of bleeding hosts or the appearance of a child. The anxious care, which followed upon those principles, to prevent the sacred elements from being in any way dishonoured led gradually to the withdrawal of the cup from the laity, which in the thirteenth century had become general. This was justified by the theory of concomitance, that is, that in the reception of the Body the Blood was also received.

The adoration of the Host, or consecrated wafer, also became usual in the thirteenth century, and was confirmed by the institution of the Festival of Corpus Christi, which, originating in the vision of a nun in the diocese of Liège, was enjoined on the whole Church by Urban IV. (1264), a former canon of that city. It was not, however, until the following century that it was generally observed.

While this development of eucharistic doctrine was going on, the adoration of saints and relics was greatly extended. Miracles were believed to be wrought at many a shrine; pious imagination ran riot in the creation of legends, and the various monastic Orders were eager to exalt their own holy men above those of their rivals. But the Mother of the Lord, the Queen of Heaven, received the highest homage of all; poets and mystics sang her praises, and the Orders were anxious to show the most manifest tokens of her favour. The angel's greeting, "Hail, Mary" (Ave Maria), took its place by the side of the Lord's Prayer as the most universal form of devotion. A string of beads called a rosary (introduced about 1270) supplied the faithful with a ready means of counting their repetitions of Pater and Ave. It came to be believed that the Virgin was herself conceived without sin, and about 1140 a festival in honour of the Immaculate Conception was instituted at Lyons, which spread, not without opposition, through the whole Church. Scholastic theology designated the reverence due to the Virgin as "over-adoration" (*hyperdulia*), something beyond that which was paid to other saints. During all this time there was an undercurrent of satire and mockery, which showed itself in such burlesques as the Feast of Fools, and in the grotesque carvings of many churches.

With the increasing splendour of worship naturally went that of the buildings set apart for it, and their accessories. Ecclesiastical architecture reached in this period a high point of beauty and magnificence, as the many stately churches of the thirteenth century abundantly testify. But architecture will be more conveniently treated in the next period. Shrines, tabernacles, pastoral staves, croziers, and vestments underwent a similar change.

It was in this period that mediæval theology received its peculiar form and its greatest extension. There was a time when European philosophy took refuge among the Arabs of Spain, but soon after the beginning of the eleventh century there began an intellectual revival in Europe generally, and a form of philosophy and theology arose to which we give the name scholastic—a form differing from that of classic times as Lincoln cathedral differs from the Parthenon or the Colosseum. This was derived from the fragments of ancient philosophy, especially of Aristotle, which were known in Europe through the medium of imperfect translations. The subject-matter on which it worked was the faith of the Church, the articles of which were accepted as absolutely true and all-important, and the scholastic philosophy claims to be no more than a systematizing, by the help of logical rules, of the dogmas given it by the Church. But as philosophy, by its very nature, is intolerant of authoritative bounds, two consequences followed from this process. First, the dialectical treatment of the form of theological propositions did in fact change their substance ; second, the intellect, hampered as it was and forbidden the free investigation of the matters which interest it most, fell too often into mere hair-splitting and vain babbling, and into the formalism of which scholasti-

cism is often wrongly supposed entirely to consist. It lost the art, which Greeks like Hippocrates and Aristotle had possessed, of looking at nature with open eyes; natural phenomena were explained by deductions from general axioms often wrongly assumed, or from passages of Scripture often wrongly interpreted. But if scholasticism had its defects, it had also its merits. It was by scholasticism that Christian doctrine was wrought into a form which in its day satisfied and delighted the highest intellects; it bridged over the interval between the classic culture and that of modern times, and prepared the way for the philosophical and religious movements which influence us even to this day.

In the theological schools which had existed since the days of Charles the Great, there arose about the middle of the eleventh century an increased activity of thought. Church doctrines were discussed under the influence of Aristotelian logic and Neo-Platonic metaphysics. The mysteries of nature and revelation, the soul of man and its relation to God, were made to appear under a new light. The centre of this revived intellectual activity was France. About the year 1050 Lanfranc, an Italian from Pavia, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, drew round him at the monastery of Bec in Normandy, of which he was abbat, a numerous band of pupils. Here the art of reasoning was practised with a view to the service of the Church. But a greater than Lanfranc, in philosophy at least, was his pupil Anselm (born at Aosta 1033, died 1109), like him successively abbat of Bec and archbishop of Canterbury. His motto was "Faith seeks to understand." We must accept the Faith of the Church, but we need not distrust the competence of reason to discuss, defend, and explain it. Anselm may with good reason be re-

garded as the father of Scholasticism. The controversy in which he engaged with Roscellin (canon of Compiègne, d. 1106), brought out the fundamental difference which pervaded all its subsequent development. This was on the nature of "Universals," or abstract ideas. When we speak of "man" generically, do we speak of a real thing, the presence of which in each individual man constitutes him what he is; or do we merely utter a conception which has no real existence, except in our thoughts? Those who, like Anselm, held the former opinion were called Realists, those who, like Roscellin, held the latter were called Nominalists.[1] The extreme Nominalists are said to have held that the "name" of a species is a mere sound uttered by the lips; but it must designate something, if it is not altogether unmeaning, and it cannot well designate anything but the general concept which the mind forms from the several individuals. The word "Conceptualism," therefore (a term of later origin), seems to describe the view of the party in question better than "Nominalism." Discussions of this problem naturally led to innovations, or what seemed innovations, in theology, and Nominalism was commonly a little suspected of inorthodoxy, as it ran the risk of reducing the "substance," which was believed to be changed in the Eucharist, to a mere figment of the intellect. Roscellin's view of the Holy Trinity, which seemed to make three Gods, was condemned at the Council of Soissons in the year 1092. This dispute was on a single point of theology, but Honorius Augustodunensis (d. c. 1152; it is uncertain whether he was of Autun or of Augsburg) attempted to

[1] It is impossible within the limits of a brief sketch to give an account of the various shades of Nominalists and Realists. See Thomson's *Laws of Thought*, §§ 64–66.

discuss the whole of Christian theology in syllogistic form.

A pupil of Roscellin's, who became much more famous than his master, was Peter Abelard (1079—1142), whose bold discussion of the deepest problems, on grounds derived from human reason, caused great offence to many of those in authority. His doctrine of the Holy Trinity, formed in opposition to the supposed tritheism of Roscellin, was thought to reduce the Three Persons to three modifications of one Person, and was condemned by a council at Soissons in the year 1121. One of Abelard's opponents in the discussion on the Trinity was Gilbert de la Porret (d. 1154), whose own theory in its turn fell under suspicion. It was considered in a synod at Rheims (1148), at which Pope Eugenius presided, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux was present, when Gilbert was compelled to accept certain changes in expression at the dictation of the latter—to the great indignation of the Roman cardinals. Both Abelard and Gilbert, however differing, represented the cause of free inquiry. The great supporter of the older views in theology in the first half of the twelfth century was St. Bernard, whose saintly life and unflinching courage made him in ecclesiastical matters by far the most powerful man of his time. He was followed, both in his dialectic and in his mysticism, by the brethren of the monastery of St. Victor at Paris, Hugh, Richard, and Walter. An Englishman, Robert Pulleyn (d. *c.* 1150), who taught both at Oxford and Paris, a keen logician, was praised by St. Bernard himself for the orthodoxy of his opinions. Peter the Lombard (d. 1164),—sometimes called Peter of Novara from the place of his birth,—following in the steps of Hugh of St. Victor and Pulleyn, drew up the famous four books of the "Sentences," that is,

opinions, which continued to be a manual in the schools throughout the Middle Ages. In this an attempt is made to combine the theology of authority, made up of approved maxims of the Fathers, with the practice of submitting everything to the test of reason. Doubts and questions are stated and resolved by the production of authorities bearing on the disputed point. Where authorities differ an effort is made to reconcile them. Towards the end of the twelfth century attempts were made to give in one work a complete view of the science of the time, as, for instance, by Alan of Lille (d. 1203). But about this time there appears a certain discontent with the existing state of philosophy which was the prelude to a new development. We see this in John of Salisbury (d. 1182), a man who, in his knowledge of the ancient classics, is a forerunner of the revival of learning, and to whom the logical quibbles of the schools were very distasteful.

Two circumstances contributed to bring about a new epoch in philosophy. The first, the foundation of learned corporations, called universities, which in the thirteenth century, after the example of Salerno, Bologna, and Paris, sprang up in Italy, France, England, and Spain. Of these the most distinguished for theological teaching were Paris and Oxford. The second was the extension given to the study of Aristotle. His works first became known in Europe through the Arabs, and bore traces of the medium through which they came. But in the course of time copies of the original Greek of some treatises were brought from Byzantium and better Latin translations made; and the system now discovered was found so completely in harmony with the spirit of the age that it was studied with extraordinary eagerness. In spite of the distrust with which he

was at first received, Aristotle came, in the course of a generation, to be regarded in the schools as an absolute and irrefragable authority. It was from this point that a new race of scholastic teachers arose, who in industry and acuteness were inferior to none that the world has seen; but their philosophy "found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

First among the philosophers of the new school may be named Alexander of Hales (d. 1245), an Englishman, who acquired so high a reputation as a reasoner that he was named the Irrefragable Doctor. With him we may reckon another Englishman, one of the noblest of our prelates and patriots, Robert Greathead of Lincoln (1175—1253), a distinguished Aristotelian, who was also a patron of physical studies. But a more remarkable man than either was Albert the Great, a Swabian (1193—1280), head of the Dominican school at Cologne, who ranged over all the learning of his time, including what was known of natural history. In his writings the traditional theology and Aristotelian logic, the Christian faith and a mystic pantheism, are wrought into a kind of system which was very attractive to his contemporaries. He was succeeded by a pupil greater than his master, Thomas of Aquino (Aquinas, 1227—1274), who is regarded as the greatest of all the schoolmen. He did not follow his master in the investigation of nature, but he treated metaphysical, ethical, and political problems with a fulness and logical acuteness which cast others into the shade, always within the bounds prescribed by the Church. The clearness and completeness of his method were so striking that his *Sum of Theology*, the great work on which he was engaged at the time of his death, remains to this day substantially the foundation of Roman Catholic theology. His lofty thoughts and

ecstatic devotion earned him the title of the "Angelic Doctor," and when his name was added to the roll of saints (1323), the voice of the Pope did but echo that of the Church at large. St. Thomas Aquinas was the great glory of the Dominican Order. His friend Bonaventura (John of Fidenza, 1221—1274) was almost equally illustrious in the Franciscan, of which he became general in 1256; a man with whom, though he showed great capacity for abstract thought, mystic contemplation stood above all human philosophy, and whose singular purity and sweetness of life won for him the affection and reverence of those about him. He seemed, said Alexander of Hales, not to have shared in Adam's sin. The great rival of Aquinas was John Duns Scotus (1265 ?—1308 ?), the Subtle Doctor, a Scot born probably at Dunse in Berwickshire, and educated at Oxford and Paris. It was agreed on all hands that distinctively Christian doctrines such as the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation were founded on divine revelation alone, but while Thomas believed that such truths as the immortality of the soul and the creation of the world from nothing might be proved by human reason, Scotus denied this, holding these also to rest on revelation only. While Thomas held the great principles of right and wrong to be eternal and immutable, Scotus held that they depended on the arbitrary will of the Almighty, so that if He willed bad to be good, it would be so. There were other points of difference, but these are sufficient to show how great was the gulf between Thomists and Scotists, whose disputes filled the schools to the time of the revival of learning. The doctrine of the Scotists, in fact, while in appearance accepting orthodox doctrine with the utmost humility, as it would not allow reason to support faith, tended to

set them at enmity—an unfortunate result for both.

While these things went on in the region of abstractions, there was one whose soul dwelt apart, the Englishman Roger Bacon (1214?—1294), who in the cell of a Franciscan friar, in spite of obloquy and opposition, pursued the investigation of nature in a spirit not unworthy of his later namesake, Francis Bacon. He was not so far above the prejudices of his time as not to believe in astrology and the philosopher's stone, but he struggled towards a reform in the existing methods of scientific inquiry, he knew the barrenness of mere verbal subtlety, and he sketched in broad outline the essentials of true knowledge. He doubtless represented a current of thought which ran continuously, though obscurely, in the Middle Ages.

Another who stands apart from the general movement of his time was Raymond Lull (1236—1315), a Spaniard of noble birth, who on a sudden impulse withdrew from the world and set himself to devise a system which should put the claims of Christianity in so clear a light that all the world should own its truth. He put his principles into practice by preaching earnestly to Saracens and Jews, with the result that after twenty-eight years of unremitting toil he was stoned to death by the Mohammedans at Bugia (the modern Bejyah) in North Africa. The Church was in doubt whether to regard him as a heretic or a martyr.

The Church of the Middle Ages was splendid and imposing, but we may see in the midst of its splendour traces of its weakness. Complaints were heard of the ambitious and worldly character of too many of its prelates, of the licentious lives of too many of the lower clergy, and of the avarice of both high and low.

And at the very time when a stern application of the censures of the Church was required, discipline was relaxed by the plentiful issue of Indulgences, which, originally remissions of temporal penalties imposed for transgression, were extended by Pope Hildebrand to the absolution of offenders from all their sins, in consideration of special services done to the Church. Such indulgences were attached to service in the Crusades, to certain churches and to certain Orders. In 1300 Boniface VIII. introduced the practice of issuing plenary indulgences on occasion of the Pope's jubilee. This was not brought to pass without opposition on the part of the more thoughtful theologians, but to the multitude the belief that by a pilgrimage, or even by a gift of money, they might be relieved from a long period of purgatorial fire, was naturally not unpleasing.

The state of the Church explains and to some extent justifies the undercurrent of satire and invective which is found in many mediæval poems, and the rise of sects which openly attacked the corruptions of the Church and its clergy.

In the early part of the twelfth century there arose in the south of France a reformer, Peter of Bruis (fl. 1104–1124), who was followed by a preacher of extraordinary popular power, who is known only by the name Henry (fl. 1116–1148), whence their adherents were known as Petrobrusians and Henricians. These denounced the worldliness and the celibacy of the clergy; denied the efficacy of the sacrifice of the Mass whether for the living or the dead; rejected infant baptism, and thought churches superfluous for men who could everywhere approach God through Christ His Son. They were, in fact, premature Protestants of a very thorough-going kind. A much better-known sect of reformers was founded

about the year 1170 by Peter Waldus, or Valdes, a merchant of Lyons, under the name of the Poor Men of Lyons, who came, however, to be known as Waldensians from the name of their founder. They seem to have had no intention of separating from the Church, but the reading of the Gospel, many portions of which their founder had caused to be translated for their use, kindled in them a desire to return to a truly apostolic simplicity of life and teaching. They went forth two and two to proclaim to the world that which they believed. It was not until they were excommunicated and forbidden to preach (1184) by pope and bishop that they became Separatists, believing themselves bound to obey God rather than man. They held, like Dante, that the donation which the "first wealthy pope" received from Constantine was the cause of infinite evil to the Church. After their separation from it they denied the exclusive privileges of the clergy; they denounced indulgences and masses for the dead; they opposed the administration of oaths, and the use of arms even in self-defence.

But by far the most important and threatening of the sects of this period was that which, under whatever name, was in fact Manichæan, holding that the phenomena of the world are best explained by the hypothesis that it is the scene of the conflict of a good against an evil power. In the middle of the seventh century there was formed in Syria and Armenia, from the remains of the Gnostics and Manichæans, the sect called Paulicians, who claimed St. Paul as their authority for their resistance to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and their rejection of sacraments. This sect, constantly persecuted, found for a time a refuge among the Saracens, and afterwards (970) obtained from the emperor John Zimisces

permission to dwell and practise their religion in Thrace. In the beginning of the twelfth century they reappeared in a somewhat modified form under the name of Bogomiles (Friends of God). Alexius Comnenus attempted to suppress them (1115—1118), but they nevertheless continued to exist in considerable numbers in the Byzantine Empire, especially on the Danube, whence they were frequently called Bulgarians, in French Boulgres or Bougres. The name, however, by which they seem to have called themselves, and by which they were most generally known, was Kathari, "Puritans." They also bore the name of Paterini and Publicani, the latter a corruption of Pauliciani. In France they were called Bons-hommes, and from the town of Alby, where they were numerous, Albigenses. Under one name or other they were found in France, Italy, Southern and Western Germany, and even in England. At the root of all this teaching was the Manichæan dualism, but not everywhere in the same form. The Bogomiles acknowledged one supreme God, whose eldest son, Satanael, was the maker of the material world and the God of the Old Testament, but who in consequence of his rebellion was driven from heaven with the angels whom he had led astray. To counteract the mischief wrought in the world by Satanael and his host, God sent the Word (Logos) in the seeming form of a man, Jesus, and this phantom suffered, died, and rose again. The war of good and evil was, however, not at once ended, but continued until the time appointed by the Father. They rejected the Mosaic writings, and scorned the sacraments and services of the Church as unspiritual. Others held the older Manichæan belief of a good and an evil deity contending in the world, without acknowledging one supreme God. But in spite of their rejection of the Catholic

teaching as to good works, they led ascetic lives, many abstaining altogether from marriage and from animal food. They had a hierarchy of their own, and believed the gift of the Holy Spirit to be communicated by the laying-on of hands. They inveighed against the worldly lives of the clergy, and believed that they found in the Gospels high privileges conferred on all believers.

It will easily be understood that such a sect as this, differing in all points, both of doctrine and discipline, from the current teaching of the Church, was constantly opposed by all the power of the Catholic hierarchy, who did not disdain to avail themselves of the secular arm. Gentler methods were no doubt tried, and St. Dominic in particular endeavoured to win over the Albigenses by persuasive eloquence; but in general the rude methods of an age which thought everything lawful against heretics were put in force. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries many suffered at the stake or on the scaffold; but persecution reached its height when, in the year 1198, Innocent III. set himself to exterminate them from Southern France. In the Crusade against the Albigenses (1208–1229) under Simon of Montfort, father of the Earl Simon to whom English liberty owes so much, thousands of defenceless creatures were massacred and the fairest fields of Languedoc laid waste. A permanent result of this persecution was the establishment of the Inquisition—a board for the seeking out and punishment of heresy—by the Council of the Lateran in 1215. It was adopted by a council at Toulouse in 1229. This institution, the control of which was given to the Dominicans, carried on its work with the most revolting cruelty in the south of France for several years. In Germany, where the chief inquisitor, Conrad of Marburg, was murdered

(1233), its course was shorter. Another consequence of the Albigensian persecution was, that by the council at Toulouse in 1229, the laity were forbidden to have in their possession the Holy Scriptures, and especially to read them in a vernacular translation. In the late discussions the heretics had often been found better acquainted with the Bible than the orthodox. But the violent measures taken against them did not annihilate the heretics. The Kathari, under various names, were found for many generations not only in France but in Germany, Italy, and Spain, while the Waldenses flourish to this day in Northern Italy.

The Kathari were no doubt inorthodox, but it is still possible to sympathize with them in their revolt against the corruptions of the Church. Other protests were made by men who had no connection with the Manichæans. Early in the thirteenth century there arose the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, enthusiasts who believed themselves freed by the spirit of life in Christ Jesus from the law of sin and death, and drew to themselves a considerable following in Italy, France, and Germany. In Germany they received the name of Beghards, in France of Beguins. They believed that labour hindered the rising of the soul to God, and consequently begged their bread. External rules, such as those of monks, they held to be unnecessary for the higher life, which was attained by the resignation of self to the spirit which worketh in us. The foundation of their doctrine seems to have been a mystic pantheism.

In the Mendicant Orders too there were found remonstrants against the laxer life into which those bodies tended to fall. When after the death of the founder the popes sanctioned a less strict observance of the Franciscan Rule (1231), a party of enthusiasts

(called "the spiritual," afterwards, in Italy, "Fraticelli") not only contended for the rigid observance of the Rule, but turned their arms against the Holy Father himself. With their minds inflamed by extravagant interpretations of the Apocalypse, not only did they regard the existing Church as corrupt and abominable, but they looked upon its whole past history as a preparation for a new and purer time, that of the immediate reign of the Holy Spirit. Their doctrines were attacked by the theologians of Paris and condemned (1255) by Alexander IV.; but the leaven of apocalyptic mysticism nevertheless continued to work in the Order, and broke out anew when in 1279 Nicolas III. put forth another explanation of the Rule. The division in the Order seemed to be ended when, in 1294, Pope Cœlestinus formed the dissidents into a separate society, to which he gave the name of Cœlestine Hermits; but Boniface VIII. abolished it in 1302, persecuted the "spirituals" as heretics, and so brought about their complete separation from the Order and from the Church. And other symptoms were found of discontent with the state of the Church and its hierarchy. Matthew Paris tells us that in 1240 a man in the habit of a Carthusian was arrested at Cambridge, who declared that the Church was utterly polluted, and that the Pope was not its head but a mere heretic. Similar disturbances arose in France. About the year 1260 a sect who called themselves "Apostolici" arose in Italy, inveighing against the vices of the clergy, and preaching the necessity of a return to apostolical simplicity. Their first leader, Segarelli, suffered at the stake in the year 1300, but they became even more powerful under Fra Dolcino, and defended themselves for two years with great resolution against the crusade of the bishop of Vercelli. Dolcino was

at last captured and burnt (1307), and his followers absorbed in other sects of the time. The Flagellants, men and women of all classes who scourged themselves as they passed through the streets, are also an indication of the feeling that a doom was impending which could only be averted by special pain and mortification. These public displays of self-torture are said to have begun under the influence of the great preacher of penitence, Anthony of Padua, about 1225.

And not only did pious feeling, mixed no doubt with much error, show itself hostile to the extravagant claims and the vices of the clergy, but the state government in the various European nations often opposed the encroachments of the ecclesiastical on the civil power. Even so great a man as Innocent III. was (as we have seen, p. 65) unable to deprive the English of their Great Charter, the importance of which he clearly discerned. The Pope (Martin IV.) favoured the tyrannous rule of the French in Sicily; that rule was brought to an end by a sudden insurrection which began at Palermo (the "Sicilian Vespers," March 30, 1282), when almost all the French in the island were put to death. Even the saintly Lewis IX. of France was by no means the humble servant of the Pope, but distinctly refused to allow the king's officials to use their power to enforce ecclesiastical penalties (Pragmatic Sanction, 1269). When Boniface VIII. attempted to proceed against Philip IV. (le Bel) he met with a vigorous opposition, and in the end severe humiliation. This powerful monarch, supported by the States-General[1] and the people, not only repelled the Pope's attempt to intervene between himself and Edward I. of England,

[1] The States-General consisted of the representatives of the nobles, the clergy, and the commons, assembled to deliberate on matters concerning the whole kingdom.

but even imprisoned his legate, and when Boniface in an arrogant tone claimed dominion over all kings and excommunicated Philip, caused him to be kept in custody at Anagni, an indignity which caused the Pope's death (1303). From the death of Boniface we may date the decline of the immense power of the Papacy. It never again enjoyed the prestige and the power which it had under Innocent III.

Even in the flourishing days of the Papacy of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. some conquests had still to be made by the Church. When the Polish prince Boleslav III. conquered Pomerania, Otto, bishop of Bamberg, followed in his steps and baptized the vanquished (1124—1128). Further conquests, both of the secular and the spiritual arm, were made under Henry the Lion (1142—1162) by the Cistercian monk Berno, and Wendish customs almost vanished before the influx of Christian Germans. The last retreat of the Wendish gods in the isle of Rügen was devastated (1168) by Axel, bishop of Roeskilde. Finland was compelled (1157) by the sword of St. Eric of Sweden to receive Christianity, while Lapland, Esthonia, and Curland were won for the Church between 1198 and 1230 by Saxon Crusaders. Finally, after a long and hard struggle (1230—1283), Prussia was conquered by the knights of the Teutonic Order. All these northern peoples, converted mainly by missionaries attached to the Roman Church, acknowledged the supremacy of Rome.

While the Western Church was playing so large a part in Europe, the Eastern was suffering under foreign oppression. In 1240 the Mohammedan Tartars invaded Russia, which they made tributary until 1477. The Church was not materially injured by the conquerors, but the long endurance of the foreign yoke left behind in the breast of every

Russian a deep feeling of hatred for Mohammedanism which has been fruitful in consequences; and the intensity of devotion to the Church, the close identification of ecclesiastical and national life, were doubtless greatly deepened by the long struggle against foreign enemies of a different faith.

In the East the Church made but little advance. The legend of "Prester John," a marvellous priest and king in Eastern Asia, current in the West from the twelfth century onward, is perhaps founded on an actual conversion of some Tartar chief by Nestorian missionaries. The Franciscan missions to the Mongols under the successors of Genghis Khan, in the thirteenth century, had no permanent effect.

CHAPTER V

THE TRANSITION FROM THE MEDIEVAL TO THE MODERN CHURCH

From the beginning of the fourteenth century we may discern an unfavourable change stealing over the Church. When it became evident that the popes often struggled for more power and extended territory as secular princes, rather than for the exaltation of the Church at large, the respect paid to the papal see declined. Philosophy, and theology with it, became more dry and hair splitting, less concerned with first principles than with the defence of current opinions; worship became more perfunctory; the great Mendicant Orders lost the fervency and purity of their first state. To this was added the subjection of the Papacy to the most powerful monarchy in Europe, that of France.

Benedict XI. (1303—1304) was compelled to rescind, or to allow to fall into abeyance, all the decrees of his predecessors which were unfavourable to France. On his sudden death the French party in the conclave chose as his successor a Gascon, Bertrand de Got, who took the title of Clement V. This pontiff, entirely dependent on the king, Philip IV. (le Bel), remained in France, and in 1309 fixed his residence at Avignon, where he was completely under

the influence of the king of France. There the popes remained for about seventy years—the Seventy Years' Captivity in Babylon. Clement, like his predecessor, was compelled to repeal or soften all the existing decrees against France, and only escaped an actual condemnation of Boniface VIII. by sanctioning Philip's proceedings against the Templars. The once humble Brotherhood of the Temple had become a proud and powerful Order, much more intent on maintaining their great privileges and managing their large estates in almost every country in Europe than on carrying out the purposes for which they were originally founded. Such a society, owning allegiance neither to king nor to bishop, was both feared and hated. It is quite possible that the Templars may have brought with them from the East some Oriental—probably Gnostic—rites, and that the obedience of a novice may have been tested by submission to repulsive observances; but the proceedings against them in France, by which men hitherto in high repute were brought to the stake after a mere mockery of a trial, were such as to excite sympathy with the sufferers. The Order was suppressed (1312) and its goods confiscated. In 1309 Clement sent a Bull to this country, saying that he had found the Templars in France guilty of various crimes, and enjoining the archbishop to investigate the condition of those in England. Here, however, the violence of the French proceedings was not imitated; the English Templars were not found guilty of the great crimes alleged against them by the Pope, but it was nevertheless determined in 1312 to suppress the Order, when its property was given to the Knights of St. John, who still carried on war against the unbelievers. Clement's successors were not less pliant; the college of cardinals was mainly

composed of Frenchmen; and the king of France lorded it over the Pope and the property of the Church within his dominions with almost undisputed sway. The popes sought compensation for their humiliation in France by asserting themselves more vigorously elsewhere. The powerful republic of Venice was brought to submit to Clement V., who not only laid it under an interdict, but authorized its enemies to seize its goods wherever they were found. When the emperor, Henry VII., died (1313)—poisoned, it was said, by a Dominican in the Holy Eucharist—Clement claimed to deal with the vacant empire as if it had been a fief of the Papacy. But when Pope John XXII. (1316–1334) attempted to put these principles into practice against the emperor Lewis the Bavarian (1314–1347), there arose a quarrel between Papacy and Empire which endured during the whole of Lewis's reign. Pope Benedict XII. (1334—1342) was anxious to make peace, but was hampered by his subjection to France, and the electors of the empire at Rense (1338) solemnly declared that the man whom they might choose needed no confirmation of the papal see. If after Lewis's death Charles IV., chosen in his predecessor's lifetime under the influence of Pope Clement VI., was submissive, the Papacy lost more in credit than it gained in power. Moreover, the power of the Papacy, and of the priesthood generally, in temporal matters came to be denied in principle by such men as Marsiglio of Padua, William of Ockham, and the great poet Dante; while the minds of the people were deeply moved by the feeling that the pretensions of the hierarchy needed to be restrained, and the lives of the clergy to be reformed. And while in Germany the Pope had an obedient vassal in Charles IV., in England Edward III. with his parliament

took vigorous measures to restrain the patronage which the Pope claimed in his kingdom, and to prevent his subjects from carrying their suits to foreign courts, such as the Roman. In Italy too, in the absence of the popes, some of the powerful cities felt strong enough to defy the Roman see. This was the case with the Visconti in Milan and the republic of Florence, then at the head of a powerful confederacy of Italian cities. Nay, even the States of the Church ceased almost entirely to yield obedience to their nominal head. In Rome itself a strange revolution took place, when (1347) Cola di Rienzi, as tribune of the people, attempted a revival of the old Roman republic. His power was, however, but short-lived; in 1349 the exasperated people drove him from the city. Returning in 1354 with a commission from the Pope himself, Innocent VI., to restore order, he was received with acclamations, but his popularity was evanescent; in two months his rule had become intolerable. An infuriated crowd surrounded him in the Capitol, and put him to death with ferocious indignities. The evil consequences of the Pope's absence from Rome became more and more evident. Urban V., against the wish of the cardinals and the king of France, entered Rome in 1367, but was soon driven back to Avignon by the disturbed state of the country. When at last Gregory XI. (1377) restored the seat of the Papacy to Rome, it was indeed high time for the shepherd to visit his Italian flock. The return of the popes at any rate put an end to the long scandal occasioned by the sight of the Supreme Pontiff living in luxury at Avignon and submissively doing the bidding of the French king; but worse was to come.

Gregory died soon after he fixed his seat in Rome. In his place Bartholomew Prignano, archbishop of

Bari, was chosen by a conclave at Rome (April 8, 1378), and took the name of Urban VI. Urban, however, soon made himself extremely unpopular; a conclave of French cardinals at Fondi declared his election irregular and void, and chose as pope (Sept. 20, 1378) Cardinal Robert of Geneva, known as Clement VII., who, unable to maintain his place in Italy, fled to France and took up his residence at Avignon. Thus was the allegiance of Christendom divided; the French popes were acknowledged by France, Naples, Savoy, Lorraine, Scotland, and ultimately by Castile, Arragon, and Navarre; while the Roman popes had the support of England, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland. It is needless to say that the sight of two popes, each claiming authority over the whole Church, and neither able to make good his claims, was in the highest degree injurious to the discipline and the general welfare of the Church. Urban died in 1389, Clement in 1394, but as each pope had surrounded himself with a bevy of cardinals, death did not put an end to the schism. Clement was succeeded at Avignon by a Spaniard, Peter de Luna (Benedict XIII. 1395—1409). At Rome the line of pontiffs was continued by Boniface IX (1389—1404), Innocent VII. (1404—1406), and Gregory XII. (1406—1409). Both Gregory and Benedict at their election promised to make any sacrifice to heal the schism, but it soon appeared that while each desired his rival to resign, neither was willing to set the example of resigning. At last Benedict, no longer supported by France, took refuge in Spain; the cardinals deserted both the popes and met at Leghorn (1408), whence, holding that the desperate state of things called for a desperate remedy, without consulting pope or emperor, by their own authority they called a council, which met at Pisa, March 25,

1409. At this august assembly there appeared twenty-four cardinals and about two hundred bishops, personally or by proxy; the regular clergy were represented by some three hundred abbots, theological and legal learning by a large number of graduates in theology and law, secular sovereignty by the ambassadors of France and England. Against the protests of the rival pontiffs, the assembly adopted the principle of John Gerson, the famous chancellor of the University of Paris, that the Church of Christ, by the power which it derived from its divine Founder, was a complete and independent society even without a pope. Gregory and Benedict were summoned before it, and when they did not appear were declared contumacious. On June 5 they were deposed as schismatics, heretics, and perjurers. The cardinals swore that whoever of them should be chosen pope would not dissolve the Council until the reformation of the Church "in Head and Members" should be accomplished. On June 26 Cardinal Peter of Candia was elected pope (Alexander V.), and at once ratified all the proceedings of the cardinals from May 8 in the previous year. He, however, deferred the promised reform, in consequence of the elaborate preparation required, to a council to be called within three years. Meantime neither of the rivals obeyed the Council. Benedict was still acknowledged by Spain and Scotland, Gregory by Germany and Naples. Christendom saw with dismay three popes attempting to reign at once, and no reform begun.

Alexander V. died in Bologna, and there the conclave was called to elect his successor. In that city, where Cardinal Cossa had driven out the Visconti and made himself supreme lord, the cardinals would have required a good deal of courage to elect as pope any

one but Cossa himself—the most unscrupulous of men. They did elect him, and he took the title of John XXIII. The new pope soon made himself hated in Rome, and was driven from it by the king of Naples. The emperor Sigismund made it a condition of his support that a council should be called for the ending of the schism and the reformation of the Church, which was earnestly desired by all Christendom, at some place on the German side of the Alps. It was summoned to Constance, and to that city John descended with a heavy heart on October 29, 1414. There was a splendid gathering, not only of the leading clergy but of princes and lords, to this momentous congress of all the Christendom of the West. At the head of the secular powers was the emperor Sigismund, who had an honest desire to reform the Church. On his side were two of the ablest members of the Council, Chancellor Gerson and Cardinal d'Ailly. It was agreed that the final vote on any resolution should be by nations, as if each individual had had an equal vote the numerous Italian prelates would have had an undue preponderance. The prelates only of the several nations formally decided their votes, but princes and doctors exercised great influence. The cardinals formed a separate body with no very distinctly recognized functions. In the few assemblies of the whole body there was little or no debate, but formal communication of the resolutions come to by the several nations. The majority decided that the only way of healing the schism was the simultaneous abdication of all the popes. Pope John, threatened with impeachment for various crimes of his evil life, seemed at first to accept the sentence, but afterwards, in spite of the oath which he had taken, fled from Constance (March 20, 1415), and declared that all

the concessions which he had made had been extorted from him under duress, and were therefore invalid. The Council, after some hesitation, declared itself completely constituted without a pope, and superior to a pope. The impeachment of John proceeded; he was convicted of many misdoings, and at last (May 29) deposed. Gregory abdicated under honourable conditions, and soon after died (1417). Benedict, after long negotiations, was given up by most of his adherents and deposed (July 26, 1417) as heretical in the article of the one Holy Catholic Church. In spite of the urgent request of the German nation that the reformation of the Church in Head and Members should be first considered, the Council decreed the election of a new pope. To the ordinary conclave of twenty-three cardinals were added, for the purpose of the election, six representatives of each nation, and (Nov. 11, 1417) Otto Colonna was chosen, who ascended the papal throne with the title of Martin V. With much diplomatic skill and sagacity he broke the force of the reforming party by separate treaties with the several nations, in which some of the papal claims to fill benefices in foreign lands were given up, and some of the exactions of the Curia abated. The Council was now weary with its long sitting, and on May 16, 1418, the Pope withdrew from it in solemn state, and the baulked reformers had to content themselves with the hope of another council, to be held within five years. It was not without much difficulty that Martin's arrangements with the several nations were put in force, but no further concessions were extorted from him. He was compelled to wait in Florence until the States of the Church were sufficiently pacified to receive him, and it was not until 1420 that he was finally seated in Rome. At the unim-

portant Synods of Pavia and Siena, reformation was only postponed, but at last the general discontent within the Church compelled him to fulfil his promise of calling a General Council, which was accordingly summoned to meet at Basel in March 1431. But before that time he died (Feb. 20), and was succeeded by Gabriel Condolmere (Eugene IV.).

The Church was now thoroughly roused, and the Council in the early days of its sitting went to work with so much energy that it not only compelled the reluctant Pope to accept its authority, but proceeded further in the way of reform which had been entered on at Constance. It asserted anew the subordination of popes to councils; it attempted to restrain the unrighteous greed of the Roman Curia, and to put an end to the tribute which, under various names, the Pope exacted, and to his constant interference with the affairs of national churches; it sought to raise the morality of the clergy, and generally to apply remedies to the innumerable abuses which had grown up among them. But the further it went in the direction of reform, the wider became the breach between it and the Pope. In 1437 the Pope was arraigned before the Council; he called a new Council to Ferrara (1438), which was in the following year transferred to Florence. Those who remained at Basel replied by suspending the Pope from his office (1438), and afterwards (1439) by a sentence of deposition. In this, however, the Council over-rated its power. Princes and people longed for reform, but dreaded schism. The reformatory decrees of Basel were formally accepted in France and Germany, but the Pope chosen by the Council, Amadeus of Savoy (Felix V.), found no support. The Council, constantly losing members and influence, held its last sitting in 1443, and then died out—a sad end

of great hopes. Of all that it had projected, hardly anything took actual effect, and the general condition of the Church was little, if at all, ameliorated.

While the Councils were sitting, a question which had been for some time in abeyance became of pressing importance—the relation of the Eastern to the Western Church. The Osmanlis or Ottoman Turks, descended from a small clan of nomads who were driven from Khorasan by the pressure of the Mongols, established themselves in Asia Minor in the early part of the thirteenth century. Thence, under a succession of able rulers, they extended their conquests far and wide, and early in the fifteenth century had made Adrianople their capital, and deprived the Eastern empire of almost all its territory except the city of Constantinople itself. In this great strait the emperor turned for help to the West, and an alliance of East and West could hardly come to pass without a union of the Churches. Michael Palæologus had already made an attempt at reunion at the Council of Lyons in 1274, but with no permanent result. At Florence in 1439 a reconciliation was arranged on behalf of emperor and patriarch by the adoption of formulæ in which the differences between Greeks and Latins were veiled under ambiguous language, while the Oriental prelates recognized the supremacy of the Pope of Rome over the whole Church, with reservation of certain privileges of the Eastern patriarchs. Both emperor and Pope promised help to the struggling East. But all the disputation, all the elaborate compromise of Florence was of no effect. The Greek people repudiated what their rulers had concluded. The emperor was received in Constantinople as "a traitor to his own imperial dignity, as a renegade and an apostate . . . and as the Greeks thus indignantly repudiated all connection with Rome, all

subjection to Latin Christianity, the Pope and the princes of Western Christendom thought no more of their treaty of succour and support against the Turks. Only fifteen years after the return of the emperor John Palæologus to the East, Constantinople was a Mohammedan city. St. Sophia resounded unrebuked with the Imaum's chant, 'There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet.'" [1] In 1453 the city was taken by the Turks; the Eastern empire came to an end, and a large portion of the Eastern Church has ever since been in the dominion of an infidel power.

All good men throughout Christendom were anxious to reform the Church, and yet nothing was done. The end at which the councils aimed was not a root-and-branch reform, though it was generally admitted that this was required, but a removal or mitigation of particular abuses, and especially the limitation of the papal power by surrounding it with an imposing aristocracy of ecclesiastics and theologians; they desired, in short, to bring the Papacy back to the position which it occupied before the days of Hildebrand. This they attempted in vain, partly no doubt because every abuse found a number of interested persons to defend it. But, in fact, the state of things in the Church arose by a natural process of evolution from certain principles which the councils did not touch, and could not be changed by mere legislation. Laws can abolish what laws have instituted, but they cannot materially change the conditions of society. Nevertheless, the conception of the Papacy had been greatly modified. The old idea of the Middle Ages, of the universal co-ordinate rule of Empire and Papacy, had been overshadowed by the rise of power-

[1] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, bk. xiii. ch. 14.

ful independent kingdoms, such as France and England, and the Pope was obliged to buy the support of the princes by considerable concessions, especially with regard to the appointments to bishopries and other high dignities in the Church. The assertion of the right of kings in relation to ecclesiastical matters was most emphatically made in the maxim current later in the German Reformation—"Lord of region, lord of religion."

The subjection of the popes to France had a very unfavourable influence on the reputation of the Papacy. Even an independent pope of noble character could hardly give countenance to his wide-reaching claims; a pope struggling and intriguing for personal ends fell into contempt. The contrast between the papal claims and the papal power was too glaring. With pontiffs of the type of Hildebrand and Innocent III., wealth and power were the means to a higher end; with men of a lower type they became ends in themselves. But while the Papacy was sinking in popular esteem, it by no means relaxed its claims; on the contrary, its defenders put forth theories of its rights and powers which had not been heard of in its palmy days. From the early part of the thirteenth century the popes claimed the power of taxing laity as well as clergy in countries of their obedience. The officials of the Roman Curia drew great gain from business referred to them, and it was easy to find a pretext for referring a case to Rome. The Pope claimed the right of appointing to benefices in public patronage, to which he used to appoint personal friends who drew the income of their benefices without discharging their duties. An attempt was even made to extend the system to benefices in private patronage. Appointments thus made by the papal usurpation were said to be made

by "reservation" or "provision." Annates, the first year's income of bishoprics and benefices, were claimed from the newly-appointed incumbents, and produced a large income to the Papacy. Heavy fees were paid by bishops on confirmation. Many ecclesiastical benefices were virtually sold. In a word, the shameless extortion practised by papal officials brought the system everywhere into discredit. Too often the bishops endeavoured to recoup themselves for the sums wrung from them by their spiritual Head, by practising extortion in their turn on the lower clergy. Unworthy persons obtained preferment by money or influence. The clergy were forbidden to marry, but it was found that celibacy did not necessarily imply chastity. In many countries attempts were made—as in England by the Statutes of Mortmain (1279, 1391)—to restrain the accumulation of property in the hands of the clergy. Throughout the fourteenth century complaints were heard of the evil lives of many of the monastic Orders, and if the Mendicants were less attacked on the ground of idleness and luxury, they made themselves all the more hateful to the parish priests by the insolence with which—relying on papal privileges—they entered their parishes and perverted their people.

Together with the decline in the moral and spiritual condition of the clergy, there was manifested also a falling off in philosophy and theology. We have seen already in Duns Scotus (p. 82) a marked change in the manner of regarding theological problems. William Durand of St. Pourçain (d. 1332) followed in the steps of Duns. In the degradation of the Papacy many minds turned with hope and longing towards the empire. The great poet Dante held that the right government of the world was that of a universal emperor and a universal pope, administer-

ing without conflict or interference the temporal and spiritual affairs of mankind. When the emperor, Henry VI., for whom he prepared a seat in paradise, visited Italy, he rose to the highest pitch of hope—hope to be finally crushed by the unexpected death (August 24, 1313) of the man who, as it seemed, might have done much to put an end to Italian anarchy and wrong-doing. Like Dante, William of Ockham (d. 1347), shocked by the scandals which surrounded the Pope and his court, fixed his hopes on the advent of an emperor who should set right the time so much out of joint, and sided ardently with Lewis the Bavarian (1314—1347), to whom he said, "Do thou defend me with the sword, and I will defend thee with the pen." In philosophy, he was the most conspicuous of those who, like Pascal in modern times, defended revelation on the ground of the absolute impotence of reason. Duns had maintained that few theological doctrines could be demonstrated by a process of reasoning; Ockham denied that any could be so demonstrated. The most complete philosophical scepticism went hand in hand with the most absolute theological orthodoxy. In this atmosphere of negation, the old scholasticism which Thomas Aquinas had taught of course fell dead, but the utter abandonment of the world of ideas probably tended to direct men's thoughts towards material objects, and so to facilitate the application of induction to the physical universe. That which Ockham accepted purely on authority was the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Peter D'Ailly (1350—1425) followed him in his philosophy, but leaned rather to the Bible than to Church tradition as the ground of faith, and to councils rather than to the Pope as supreme authority. D'Ailly's pupil Gerson (1363—1429), chancellor of

the University of Paris, who united scholasticism with mysticism, was an earnest promoter of the study of the Bible, an eager reformer of abuses in the Church, and a vigorous asserter of the rights of the civil power.

But the most thorough-going opponent of the evil customs of ecclesiastics in the fourteenth century was John Wycliffe (1325?—1384), a very able and popular teacher in the University of Oxford, where he became a Doctor of Theology about 1370. In 1374 he was one of the commissioners sent to Bruges to treat with ambassadors of the Pope concerning the papal claims to present to benefices in England, but nothing of importance was brought to pass. His teaching was highly acceptable to John of Gaunt, son of Edward III., and the nobles who were opposed to the claims of the clergy. Wycliffe began by maintaining that the secular power had a right to control the clergy and even to confiscate endowments. The English bishops were, as was natural, highly indignant, and attempted, with the help of the Pope, to put down this bold innovator and blasphemer, but he was too strongly supported by the anti-clerical party to succumb to pope or bishop. The papal schism (1378) affected Wycliffe deeply. Up to this time he had only attacked manifest abuses in the Church; now he declared that it would be better without pope or prelate; and attacked the whole system of compulsory confession, penances, and indulgences. Now too, deserting the Latin language and the scholastic form, he appealed to the people in their own tongue. In their own tongue also he gave them (about 1382) the Bible, translated from the common Latin version by himself and his friends, and sent forth a body of "poor priests" to preach his doctrines throughout the country. In 1382 a council under Archbishop

Courtenay condemned twenty-four theological propositions which were alleged to be Wycliffite, but took no proceedings against Wycliffe personally. He retired to his rectory of Lutterworth, to which he had some years before been presented by the Crown, and there died in peace, December 31, 1384. In 1428, by direction of the Council of Constance, his bones were exhumed, burnt to ashes, and cast into a neighbouring brook, the Swift. Thus, says Fuller, "this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the world over."

At the root of Wycliffe's teaching is always his insistence on inward piety as opposed to religious formalism. He did not deny, for instance, that confession might be useful, but he thought that compulsory confession was likely to become a mere form. He acknowledged the benefit of sacraments, but he held that God is not bound to them; He can impart grace by other channels. When he says that "dominion is founded on grace," he does not mean, as some have supposed, that only the truly religious can own property; his view is ideal; only the man who has subdued himself through grace can be truly lord or owner of any possession; he who is at the mercy of his passion is not lord of himself or of anything external to himself. Wycliffe's position is in fact a Christian version of the old Stoic maxim, that only the wise man can be truly king or lord. The followers of Wycliffe came to be called Lollards—a name already applied to the irregular pietists of Belgium—and by the end of the fourteenth century had become sufficiently powerful to disquiet those in power. In consequence, the Parliament of 1401 passed a law that persons found guilty of heresy in an ecclesiastical

court should be handed over to the secular arm and burned alive. This is the first introduction of this horrible punishment into England.

In the midst of the din of conflict and the dissolution of discipline in the Church of the fourteenth century, the more tender souls turned from mere dead works to seek real and inward communion with God, and this tendency was quickened by the "Black Death," which appalled and desolated Europe from 1347 to 1350. A peculiar society of "Friends of God" (St. John xv. 13—15), as to the origin and leaders of which there has been much controversy, was widely spread in Germany and the Netherlands. They taught the people in their own tongue, and insisted rather on the revelation to each man of God within him than on the traditional ecclesiastical dogmas and forms.

In the great leaders of German mysticism we may trace two leading forms of thought. In the first, which reminds us of the old Alexandrian philosophy, the great stress is laid on the freeing of the soul from the bonds of the flesh. By prayer and a holy life, it is held, the soul can be so withdrawn from outward things, so stripped even of self, as to find its only and supreme good in God, and in the contemplation of Him to be united with Him. In this system, if we may call it so, Christ is presented as the type and pledge of the perfect union of God and man. This is the thought which we find prominent in the work of Meister Eckhart (1260—1327), and of the famous preacher John Tauler (1290—1361). In the other form of mystic devotion the humiliated and suffering humanity of Christ is most prominent, in Whom the forgiving love and mercy of God are revealed, and Who is the source of our sanctification. The votaries of this school seek before all things

inner communion with the suffering Christ, with the sympathetic Mother, and with the Child Jesus. This school is full of tenderness, but tends more to tearful emotion than to strength of character. It delights in ecstatic vision and in an almost lover-like passion for the Virgin and her Son. This is especially the mysticism of devout women and of Eckhart's pupil Suso (Henry Seuse, 1295–1366). It must not be supposed, however, that the two lines of thought exclude each other. In Suso in particular both are found.

In this connection may be mentioned the controversy which long divided the Church, on the question whether, as St. Thomas and the Dominicans maintained, the Virgin had the taint of original sin, but was purified from it before her birth; or, according to the opinion of Scotus and his followers, was from the first absolutely pure from all sin. This war was waged, with a great deal of theological hatred, for some two centuries. St. Brigitta of Sweden had visions in favour of the Immaculate Conception, St. Catharine of Siena against it. In the great schism the French popes accepted it, the Roman denied it. At last the Council of Basel (1439) established the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, which was confirmed by subsequent decrees of popes.

In the thirteenth century a reformatory movement began in Bohemia. Milicz of Kremsier (d. 1374), a Moravian, resigned his rich preferments to become a preacher of the Gospel in poverty and humility, while his pupil, Matthias of Janow, a Bohemian (d. 1394), published works which had a great effect upon the more cultivated class. Much influenced by the study of the Apocalypse, he saw in the degradation of clergy and people a sign of the near approach of Antichrist.

But a much greater effect was produced when the works of Wycliffe became known in Bohemia. The marriage of Richard II. of England with Ann of Bohemia (1382) gave greater activity to the intercourse which already existed between the universities of Oxford and Prague. Bohemian students from Oxford introduced into their own university the works of the great Oxford reformer, and there arose in consequence a Bohemian society of Wycliffites. To this society belonged Jerome of Prague, who had first introduced Wycliffe's theological writings to his countrymen; and a still more remarkable man, John Huss of Hussinetz. The latter began to feel the influence of the Wycliffite writings about the year 1401, but did not at once make any public profession of his changed opinions. He was, however, far too religious and conscientious, too ready to accept the full consequences of his views, to suppress them. In the university the situation was complicated by the rivalry of the Bohemian and German "nations." About the year 1405 he openly attacked the corruptions of the clergy, and, in spite of much opposition in the university itself, drew about him in a few years a strong and popular party. He was naturally hated by the clergy whom he assailed, and—as is generally the case—his views were more sharply accentuated by controversy. In the year 1411 the sale of indulgences by John XXIII., on occasion of the crusade against his enemy, Ladislas of Naples, gave occasion for Huss to declare himself against the whole theory of indulgences. This naturally brought with it an investigation of the various theories of the Church, the result of which was, that he found the true Church in the whole body of God's elect, he denied the necessity of a visible Head of the Church, opposed the claims of the actual Papacy,

and set up, against ecclesiastical tradition, the Holy Scriptures as the only and sufficient guide for the faith and practice of Christians. He did not attack the popular theory of transubstantiation, as Wycliffe had done, nor was it he who first demanded the administration of the Eucharistic Cup to the laity. This was done by a parish priest of Prague, James of Misa, and it was only during his imprisonment, shortly before his death, that Huss assented to it.

The movement in Bohemia occasioned great anxiety to the leading clergy throughout Europe, and when the Council of Constance met, the emperor Sigismund offered Huss an opportunity of stating his case before it under his safe conduct. Huss cheerfully accepted it, thinking the emperor's word a sufficient security, and hoping to win over the assembly to his side. But the ecclesiastics, especially those of Bohemia, were implacable. Before the arrival of Sigismund, Huss was accused of heresy and cast into prison. When the emperor arrived, he did his best to set Huss free, but finding that his persistence would probably bring the Council to a premature close, he resigned the unfortunate reformer to his fate—a breach of faith which might well bring a blush to his cheek. On May 4, 1415, Wycliffe's doctrine was condemned as heretical, and the assembly proceeded to examine that of Huss. He refused to abjure the heresies imputed to him, and (July 6, 1415) went to the death by fire with admirable courage and constancy. Jerome of Prague suffered in the same way in the following year (May 30, 1416). Huss at once became an almost worshipped saint in Bohemia.

It had been the practice in the Church for some generations to administer to the laity in the Eucharist only the consecrated Bread, not the Wine. The

Hussites found this contrary to the law of Christ, and while Huss was in prison James of Misa began to administer the Cup also. This Huss approved, and when (July 15, 1415) the Council for the first time actually forbade giving the Cup to the laity, he declared the decree an unwarrantable usurpation, and laid it on the conscience of his followers to insist on the administration in both kinds (*sub utraque specie*). Hence they came to be called Utraquists or Calixtines.[1] These did not go beyond the moderate views of Huss. Their wishes with regard to reform were summed up (July 1420) in four articles: Freedom of preaching; Communion in both kinds; the reduction of the clergy to the evangelic rule and apostolic life; general restoration of discipline, both for clergy and laity. This was the view generally held by the people of Prague, both gentle and simple. But there was also a more violent party. Large numbers assembled on a hill-top which they called Tabor,[2] for the purpose of receiving Holy Communion in the manner which they desired. There a permanent settlement was formed, and many of the discontented flocked thither from foreign lands. This mixed multitude went far beyond the learned and noble leaders of Prague. They rejected not only the theory of transubstantiation, but the whole series of Catholic observances —saint-worship, the use of images, festival days, benedictions and consecrations, purgatory and prayers for the dead, auricular confession and priestly absolution, extreme unction and confirmation. Their

[1] From the Latin *Calix*, the Chalice or Cup.

[2] The name is said to have been derived from the tent (in Bohemian "tabor") which was set up for the purpose of worship; but probably an allusion to the mount of the Transfiguration was also intended.

ministers were appointed by the community, they held churches and altars to be unnecessary, and administered Baptism and the Holy Eucharist in the simplest form and in their vernacular language. In their excited condition they believed that the promised reign of Christ drew near, while they destroyed sanctuaries and priests in the spirit of the Old Testament denunciations of the Canaanites. Science, learning, and amusement they rigorously proscribed as mere vanities. There was also a strong tendency to hold all things in common.

The difference between the two parties was great, but they were for a time united by their common danger. When King Wenzel died (1419), the Bohemians refused to accept his brother and heir, Sigismund, as their king, and when he, with the support of the Pope, attempted to assert his rights by force of arms, the Hussites under their able and valiant leader, John Ziska, drove him and his armies from the country and compelled the Council of Basel to enter into negotiations with them. The result of these was the Compact of Prague (1433), by which the four articles of the Utraquists were in terms accepted, but with such limitations as seriously to diminish the value of the concessions. The acceptance of these terms by the Calixtines alienated and enraged the Taborites. Both parties flew to arms, when the Taborites suffered a decisive defeat (1435), and the victorious Calixtines agreed to accept Sigismund as their king (1436), on condition that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion and that certain reforms should be carried out. They refused, however, to acknowledge Sigismund's successor Albert, and during the minority of the latter's son Ladislas, the Calixtine George Podiebrad ruled the country, first as regent (1441—1453) and then

as king (1457—1471). By dexterous management of the opposing parties, he succeeded—in spite of the repudiation of the Compact by Pius II. (1462) and the conquest of Moravia and Silesia by Matthias Hunyady, king of Poland—in maintaining his position in Bohemia until his death. His successor, Wladislaw, united the Bohemian crown with that of Hungary. During the reign of Podiebrad the Taborites as a political party gradually came to an end, but their leading principles, purged of their fanatical extravagance, passed over to the "Brethren of the Law of Christ," commonly called "Bohemian Brethren," who formed from the year 1457 a body separate from the Church, and, in spite of very severe persecution, maintained themselves as a presbyterian society.

The Hussite rising was the first instance of a really national resistance to the Papacy. The Taborites, however little in their own day they may seem to have effected, represented tendencies which were destined to play a great part in the history of the world. They were the first considerable party who preached, in the name of Christ, a complete religious and social revolution, by which all the inequalities of the existing society should be removed, and the Church—stripped of all temporal power and wealth—should be restored to primitive simplicity and spirituality. They made an attempt to give life to a form of Christianity in which men should not be content with compromises with the world and a half-pagan morality, but should really lead their whole life as in the sight of God and in obedience to His laws. It was impossible that they could attain their end in the ways by which they hoped to gain it, but they gave an impulse to thought which did not soon die away.

The great councils of the fifteenth century had all been called with a view to the reformation of the Church, but the result of their efforts was extremely small. Little was to be expected from pontiffs who were more intent on extending their own power than on purifying the Church. Nicholas V. (1447–1455) and Calixtus III. (1455—1458) ruled in much the same spirit as Martin and Eugene. In the person of Pius II., Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1458—1468), a great personality ascended the papal throne. An undisguised profligate in his early days, and versed in intrigue beyond his fellows in an age when to be a politician was to be an intriguer, he was nevertheless a scholar and became a decorous Pope. He had it much at heart to form a confederation of Christian princes against the Turks, and his last moments were darkened by the failure of his great scheme. The time for Crusades was gone by; the princes of Europe were no longer disposed to go to war for an idea, and the self-seeking of the Papacy for many years past probably led them to think that in this also the Pope had his own interest in view. Another remarkable pontiff was Sixtus IV., Francesco della Rovere (1471—1484), who did much to foster learning and to encourage art, and especially to improve and embellish the city of Rome. Both he and his successor, Innocent VIII. (1484—1492), exhausted the papal treasury in providing for their numerous families, and this led to very questionable ways of raising money and to gross corruption in the bestowal of benefices. He was succeeded by Alexander VI. (Borgia), under whom the Roman Court became as profoundly immoral as it had been in the days of Marozia (p. 43). Under the warlike Julius II. (1503) and the scholarly and artistic Leo X., Medici (1513—1521), the Court recovered a little

outward decorum and grew in splendour, but not in real Christianity. It was Leo X. who permitted the hawking of indulgences to raise funds for the magnificent church which he proposed to raise in honour of St. Peter, and who, when this traffic roused the honest indignation of Luther, thought the portentous events in Germany a mere monk's squabble. Leo was an able and cultivated man, but in this respect the god of his age had blinded his mind.

In the corrupt state of the Church there was naturally a constant out-cropping of dissatisfaction with its rulers, and whatever tended to shake the authority of the hierarchy was heresy. It is therefore not wonderful if the Inquisition awoke to new life. The first Inquisition was composed of men named by the Pope for a special purpose and in a particular district (see p. 87), but it soon became permanent. In Spain, in particular, in the fifteenth century it became a regular institution, the jurisdiction of which extended over the whole country. The members of it were Dominicans, nominated by the king under powers granted to him by the Pope (1478). When this organization was controlled by such a head as Thomas of Torquemada (1483—1498) it became a horrible engine of oppression. Not only heretical Christians, but Jews and Moors who still lived in Spain under a veil of outward conformity were arrested, imprisoned, tortured, and condemned to death or severe and degrading punishment at the mere arbitrary will of the tribunal. It is said—perhaps with some exaggeration—that under Torquemada's rule of fifteen years 8800 persons were burnt alive. Spain became, if not religious, at least outwardly orthodox.

In Spain the reformatory tendency was crushed,

but in other countries it manifested itself in various ways. The most conspicuous of all the reformers was found in Italy itself. Jerome Savonarola (1452—1498) was trained in the Dominican convent at Bologna, whence in 1482 he passed to that of St. Mark at Florence. As he looked out from the quiet of his house on the corruption of the Church and the world about him, his mind became filled with the thought of a terrible judgment to come upon the Church, to be followed by renewal. From about the year 1490 he came forth preaching in the spirit of a prophet, denouncing the luxury and semi-paganism which prevailed in Florence under the Medici, predicting woe to come, and at last making it clear that he looked to a French invasion to put an end to existing evils. Nor did he spare the Papacy. When in 1494 the French, in accordance with his prophecy, entered Italy, Savonarola looked for a reform of the Church, and as in the same year the Medici were expelled from Florence by a popular rising, Savonarola became the most powerful man in that city, and the animating spirit of the republic which was established on the departure of the French army. He now shared the usual fate of enthusiasts placed in power. Not content with the spiritual force and eloquence which led women to fling down their most treasured ornaments, and men to make an immense bonfire of vanities, he made pleasures and luxuries matter for police regulation. He treated sins as crimes. The natural result followed; men accustomed to a free life grew discontented with his rule, so that when in 1496 the Pope began to take action against him, he found many allies in Florence itself. The excommunication which was launched against him in 1497 was, it is true, not recognized either by Savonarola himself or by the city; but in 1498 the party opposed to him

came into power; he was ordered to desist from preaching, and popular feeling was excited against him by the preaching of a Franciscan who had long been his opponent. The end soon came; the great preacher lost popular support, and the government was vehemently against him. He was cited before the Council on the charges of falsely claiming to be a prophet and of rebellion against the civil authority. He was of course found guilty, the sentence was confirmed at Rome, and on May 23, 1498, the man who a few short years before had been received almost as an angel of God was strangled, and his body burnt, in the great square of Florence. There is no reason to suppose that Savonarola in any way deviated from the Catholic faith, but the Church of that day was not able to tolerate a vehement moral and spiritual reformer. It could bear neither its vices nor their remedies.

In Teutonic lands reformers arose of a different kind. There the character of the people was more receptive of inward and heart-felt religion, and the influence of the Hussites had been considerable beyond the borders of Bohemia. The numerous German translations of the Bible[1] in this period show how actively the Scriptures were searched, and the great Father who was comparatively neglected in the Middle Ages, Augustine, was again earnestly studied by theologians.

[1] There were several translations of the Bible from the Latin Vulgate before the Reformation. The French translation of Gujars des Moulins, made in the last years of the thirteenth century, was printed by command of Charles VIII. before 1498. An Italian translation by Nicolo Malermi (who speaks of earlier translations) was printed at Venice in 1471. In Germany translations were made in the Middle Ages, but the first printed German Bible is that of Mainz, 1462, reprinted fourteen times at Strasburg, Augsburg, and Nürnberg.

A remarkable society of reforming tendency, though formed for purely practical ends, appeared in the Netherlands in the latter part of the fourteenth century. Gerhard Groot (1340—1384) about 1379 resigned all his preferments and went forth as a preacher of repentance, influenced no doubt by the venerable prior Ruysbroek, who was connected with the German mystics. He founded a society called the "Brothers of the Common Life," who were to support themselves in primitive simplicity by the labour of their hands, and contemplated as their end and aim the promotion of Christian piety by example, teaching, and exhortation. Under their guidance there soon arose in many towns of the Netherlands societies of lay men and women for the purpose of mutual edification. These "Gerardines" fell under the suspicion of the Inquisition and had to endure persecution. The lives of Gerhard and of his immediate successor were written by the greatest member of the Brotherhood, Thomas à Kempis, whose *Imitation of Christ*[1] is probably the best-known of all books of edification, a distinction which it has earned by a sweetness, purity, and naturalness which come home to all hearts. Thomas was a member of the Brotherhood from the year 1400—1471, and MSS. of his writing — including one of the *Imitation*—are still extant.

Three men may be especially mentioned as forerunners of the Reformation. John of Goch (d. 1475), prior of a convent founded by himself in Mechlin, shows himself in his writings as a man of real and deep piety. Love, which leads to the true liberty of the children of God, is with him the essential thing; his theology, which was largely

[1] There has been considerable controversy as to the authorship of this famous book, but the arguments in favour of Thomas are by far the most weighty.

derived from St. Augustine, rests on the assumption of the supreme authority of the Scriptures. John of Wesel, first as doctor of theology in the University of Erfurt, and afterwards as preacher in Worms, inveighed against the errors on which the inordinate claims of the clergy, and especially of the Pope, were founded, and referred to Holy Scripture as the true guide to faith and practice. He was, however, compelled to recant (1479), and ended his days in captivity (d. 1482). His friend John Wessel, after a varied course of academic teaching and disputation in Cologne, Louvain, Paris, and Heidelberg, was permitted to end his days in peace in his native town of Gröningen (d. 1489), though he preached doctrine which Luther in the following century declared to be entirely in harmony with his own.

But in the latter part of the fifteenth century a force came into operation which was destined practically to put an end to mediævalism and produce the mind of modern Europe. This was the revived study of the ancient classics, the movement which we commonly call the Renascence, the New Learning, or Humanism. The latter name best expresses its characteristics.

We are not to suppose that the Latin classics were unknown in the Middle Ages. This was far from being the case. Many mediæval writers show that they had studied classical Latin, and most of the ancient Latin manuscripts now extant were copied and preserved in monasteries. But they were known only to a few students, and did not affect the general course of thought. But in the period of which we are speaking there passed over the minds of thoughtful men one of those changes which we can neither define nor wholly account for. A desire arose to look beyond the bounds which had so long

closed them in; a new spirit of which men could not say whence it came or whither it went. This desire was fed by the disclosure of the beauties and glories of Greek literature, which had for many ages been unknown in the West—a disclosure which was largely due to the influx of Greeks which followed the Council of Florence and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. Mediæval literature was, first and foremost, theological; classical literature is, for good or for evil, natural and human. The pagan, as such, has little conception of the struggle of the spirit against the flesh. He takes human nature as it is, without preferring one faculty of it to another. Hence, paganism tends to develop the bad as well as the good in man; and in Italy, which was in the fifteenth century very wealthy, and where the character of the people and the climate invite to indulgence, there did no doubt arise a gay and artistic paganism, especially in Florence under the rule of the Medici family, and in Rome. But this Italian paganism was no more than a passing phase of the early classical enthusiasm. The nobler part of Hellenism produced quite other effects. "The Greeks, before any other people of antiquity, possessed the love of knowledge for its own sake. To see things as they really are, to discern their meanings and adjust their relations, was with them an instinct and a passion. . . They had that fearlessness of intellect which is the first condition of seeing truly. . . Greece had the courage to put faith in reason, and in following its guidance to take no count of consequences. . . Not that the Greek temper is irreverent, or strips the universe of its mystery." [1] In a word, Hellenism represents in its most attractive form the fearless and vigorous use of the faculties which God has given.

[1] S. H. Butcher, *Greek Genius*, p. 1 *f.*

The propagation of such a spirit had, as it could not fail to have, the most far-reaching effects. Everywhere the more eager and aspiring minds hailed it with delight. Not only did Hellenism delight men by its sense of beauty, its frankness of discussion, its purely human wisdom; the interpretation of the classics gave birth to scholarship. Scholarship is the faculty by which an intellect, not only trained in the niceties of language, but imbued with all that can be learned of the history and social life of the period in question, and gifted with the instinct for combination which illustrates one passage by another, interprets an ancient author. This process began with the Humanists, and soon was applied to Scripture, and to mediæval as well as classical documents. Cardinal Nicholas de Cusa (d. 1464), for instance, doubted the genuineness of the notorious Donation of Constantine (see p. 21), and of the Forged Decretals (p. 30). As to the latter, Cardinal John of Torquemada (d. 1468) agreed with him, and as to the former, the English bishop Reginald Pecock (d. 1460). Laurentius Valla (d. 1457) not only exposed the spuriousness of the Donation, of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, of the letter of Lentulus (Pilate's supposed predecessor) to the Roman senate, and of the correspondence of Christ with Abgarus, but pointed out that the Apostles' Creed, however worthy of reverence, was not of Apostolic origin, and in his annotations on the Latin New Testament gave the first example of scholarly interpretation. In short, it was in the latter part of the fifteenth century that the critical spirit took its rise which has in the course of three centuries transformed the interpretation of Scripture and the history of the Church.

And the open-eyed questioning spirit which had

gone forth into the world had an immense effect upon physical science. During the Middle Ages, that which Bacon calls the skilful questioning of nature had been almost wholly lost sight of; men sought to explain the phenomena of the universe by formulæ often arbitrarily assumed. When a real spirit of inquiry arose, and men ventured to look without a veil at the objects before their eyes, all this was changed. No great discovery was made in the fifteenth century, but the way was entered upon which led to Copernicus and Galileo and Newton. Theology itself was profoundly modified by the new aspect in which the works of God were presented.

Further, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the art of printing from movable types cast in a matrix was discovered. This gave ready currency to the works of scholars and scientists, and spread new ideas with a rapidity unheard-of in the days when every book was produced by the slow process of copying by hand.

In short, in the latter part of the fifteenth century we recognize the germs of the modern world. The dominion of the clergy is passing away, that of the laity is beginning. Henceforth the leaders of European thought are laymen. The great masters of thought in the Middle Ages had been Thomas and Scotus; those of the modern world are Bacon and Descartes.

The immense impulse given to the life of the Church in the twelfth century had a great effect upon its worship and the buildings erected for worship. They became more spacious, more splendid, more aspiring. Up to the twelfth century the Romanesque, modified in the north of France into the style which we call Norman, continued to prevail. Then, in the Isle of France, Maine, and Anjou,

arose the pointed arch, the groined and ribbed vault, the flying buttress, the lofty tower and spire. From these elements were formed in the course of two centuries the most glorious temples which the world has seen. In this style all is aspiring; piers, arches, roofs, pinnacles, all point heavenward; the flat ceiling and the barrel vault are no more seen. And, under the influence of a new feeling, the stone constructions blossomed into leaves and flowers, scrolls and grotesques, very different from the stiff mouldings of an earlier style. Painted windows, with prophets and saints pictured on the panes, showed the rich colours of jewellery, and gave a dim religious light to the church within. Religious houses, having a continuous life, handed on their vast plans from generation to generation, while princes and nobles put their hands to the work. The cathedral of St. Denis, the resting-place of the French kings, was founded in 1144; Notre Dame of Paris and the magnificent churches of Chartres, Rheims, Amiens, Beauvais, and Bourges soon followed. In 1174 a French architect, William of Sens, began to rebuild in the pointed style the choir of Canterbury, where his work may still be seen. But English Gothic ran its own course, and was never a mere imitation of the French. The great English churches, even those which show some French influence, such as those of Lincoln, Ely, Wells, York, Salisbury, and Lichfield, have always their own characteristics, both in plan and in detail. The development of Gothic in Germany is later; the cathedral of Cologne was begun in 1248, and that of Strasburg in 1275. In Italy the influence of the numerous remains of classic art was so great that Gothic never seems to have been thoroughly naturalized, though magnificent churches in the pointed style—as those

of Milan and Bologna—were raised. In France and England Gothic art ran its course; it was born, came to maturity, and died. In the latter part of the fourteenth century great artists seem no longer to have arisen; building fell more and more into the hands of companies of masons, skilled artificers rather than artists, and Gothic was superseded for two or three hundred years by the revival of classic architecture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was in 1419 that Brunelleschi, a man imbued with classical traditions, began to build the magnificent dome of the cathedral at Florence—a classic completion of a building originally Gothic.

From the twelfth century onward, statues, often of great excellence, filled the niches of great churches, but modern sculpture may be said to take its rise from Niccola Pisano (1206—1278), who wrought in the spirit of the old classical art. A century later Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378—1455) modelled the famous bronze doors of the Baptistery at Florence, of which Michael Angelo said that they were worthy to be the gates of Paradise. With him may be mentioned a kindred spirit, Luca della Robbia (1400—1482), who executed works of the highest excellence in bronze, in marble, and in the glazed or enamelled terra-cotta which is commonly associated with his name. Donatello (1383—1466), also devoted to the antique, surpassed his immediate predecessors in the expression of life and movement.

In the East, the delineation of sacred figures, whether by painting or mosaic, became conventionalized about the seventh century, and such has always remained, so that Eastern sacred art can scarcely be said to have a history. In the West, the pictorial art of the early Middle Ages displayed itself chiefly in painted glass, and in the illumination of manu-

scripts, which are often of great beauty. But in the thirteenth century a few masters began to desert the stiff forms of Byzantine tradition, and to represent sacred scenes with something of natural truth and beauty. Among these are to be reckoned Giovanni Cimabue (1240—1300), in whose works we may trace the progress from traditional stiffness to greater, though still imperfect, ease and expressiveness, and Giotto (1276—1336), sculptor, architect, and painter, in whose numerous productions we may see already the traits of the later Italian schools. In some of his paintings we may trace the influence of Dante's great poem. Fra Angelico of Fiesole (1387—1455), devout in his cloistered seclusion, painted sweet and gentle saints in the spirit of a saint. The works of Masaccio (1402—1443) show a more vigorous and correct representation of nature than is found in his predecessors, with improved harmony of arrangement. But the greatest master of the early Florentine school is Domenico Ghirlandaio (1451—1495), who brought to greater perfection the lifelike traits which are found in Masaccio. In the works of Leonardo da Vinci (1452—1519), Michael Angelo (1474—1564), and Raphael (1483—1520) appear the noblest achievements of the painters' art. The Northern School, though Mantegna (1431—1506) and Giovanni Bellini (1426—1516) produced gems of truly religious art, found its most congenial occupation in scenes of action and enjoyment. The great school of Flanders begins with the brothers Hubert (1366—1426) and John (1400—1445) van Eyck, who, trained in the production of miniatures, invented or greatly improved the art of painting in oil. In their sacred art they looked frankly at man and nature, which they followed with loving care, while never losing the devout spirit in their treatment. They were followed

by John Memling (1425—1500), in whom poetic fancy is united with great charm of manner; his figures have more grace and life than those of his predecessors, his colouring is rich and harmonious, and his pictures of sacred subjects are very impressive from the union of a certain simplicity of conception with artistic skill in execution. From the end of the fifteenth century the influence of the Renascence is found everywhere, in literature, architecture, sculpture, and painting. Sacred subjects continued to be painted, and that by the greatest masters, but the old religious spirit is rarely found in them. Many great painters found their favourite subjects in the classic mythology or in common life.

THE END

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